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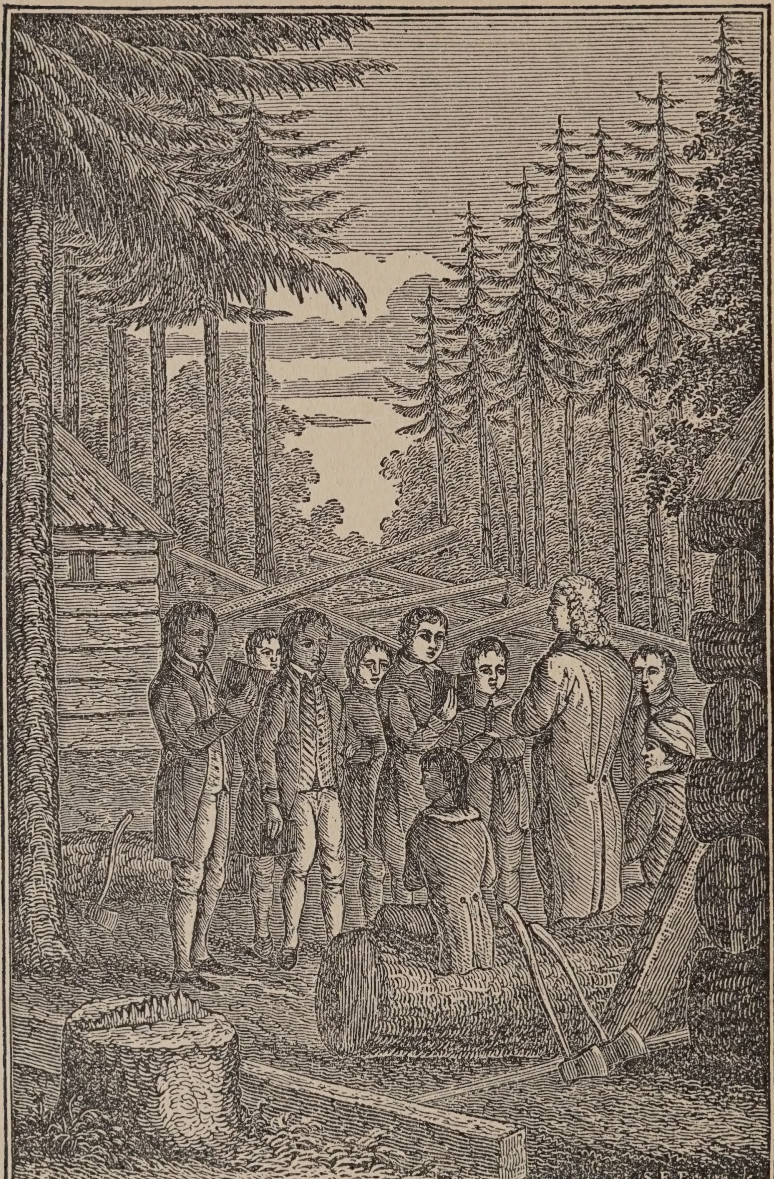
The Letters of Eleazar
Wheelock's Indians

Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE MANUSCRIPT SERIES NO. I



AN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF THE FOUNDING OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. Enlarged from original in The History and Antiquities of New England, New York, and New Jersey, *by John Warner Barber; Worcester, 1841.*

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THE
LETTERS
OF
Eleazar Wheelock's
INDIANS

Edited from the Originals by

JAMES DOW McCALLUM

Professor of English, Dartmouth College

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Editorial Foreword

THE history of Dartmouth College, during its period of inception and during the earlier years of its existence, differs markedly from that of its contemporary institutions. Founded primarily to promote the christianizing of the Indians, in its precharter days devoting itself quite as much to missionary as to educational effort, attracting the favorable attention and obtaining the patronage of many important personages both in the colonies and in the mother land on account of the special nature of its task, finally planted as a pioneer college on the frontier, its contacts with the social organization of the times were extraordinarily varied and significant. As time has gone on, the institution has come into the possession of a large store of material relating to its early history. Some of the material, after devious wanderings, has come back to the place of its origin only after long delays. The story of the institution in its early days may thus be traced in intimate detail from contemporary evidence. In fact, letters and other documents relating to the time of its founder and first president are far more abundant than is material of a similar type having to do with any subsequent period in its history.

It has seemed to those who have examined these documents that selections from them should be reproduced in printed form. Acting under the encouragement and authorization of the Trustees of the college, a committee of the Faculty (consisting of L. B.

Richardson, chairman, H. G. Rugg, and J. D. McCallum) has inspected this material, and has chosen certain topics relating to the early history of the institution as suitable for illustration by the publication of selected documents. Accordingly, the committee has planned the Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, issues of which will appear from time to time, as the work of editing can be carried out. Some of these topics are parochial in character, of interest mainly to those who have some special connection with the college; the greater number, however, are of more general significance.

The series is introduced by the present volume, containing letters written by the Indian disciples of Wheelock, selected and edited by Professor James Dow McCallum. From it the reader may form an idea of the processes of the aboriginal mind when brought into close contact with the Puritan civilization of the eighteenth century. In succeeding volumes of the series it is the plan to allow the white missionaries to record their impressions of life among the Indian tribes, and to give the Indian preacher, Samson Occom, and his white companion, Nathaniel Whitaker, the opportunity of recording their experiences during their visit to England and Scotland upon the mission of collecting funds for the Indian School.

LEON B. RICHARDSON

Chairman of the Committee on the
Dartmouth College Manuscript Series.

Introduction

IN this volume the Indian scholars who attended Moor's Charity School during the lifetime of Eleazar Wheelock have been allowed to speak for themselves. At times the editor has been obliged to prompt them by means of footnotes, but his ambition has been to gather these contemporaries of Pontiac around a council fire (which to them would have been quite novel), that they might by themselves confess their sins, carry on their courtships, and express their religious convictions. Many of the letters are quaint; some are humorous; a few are of importance historically—all are misspelled. The reader who is not accustomed to such material will be amused at first as though he were watching some captive animal performing his tricks. He will also, it is hoped, appreciate the sincerity of these contributors, and, taking the letters all in all, realise something of the tragedy: the tragedy of coercing the savage to studies for which he had little aptitude and no use—to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; to a religion, the Calvinism of the eighteenth century, from which he too often took not much more than the introversions; and to the white man's civilization, from which he was prone to borrow the vices.

The Indian of these letters is not the noble savage of eighteenth century poem and play. He is a dullard, often a drunkard, an unwilling pupil separated by hundreds of miles from his parents, a consumptive, simple, and simple-minded. Now and then he breaks from the cage of the charity school, rebels against the menial duties of required "husbandry," and attempts to live with the swing of his untamed brethren. Occasionally he is sly, occasionally too he is intelligent and civically-minded, and more than once he flashes out in anger and with bitter phrase.

The Christianizing of the Indians was to Wheelock an obligation imposed from Heaven on God's Covenant People. So he tells us in the first of the nine Narratives which he published intermittently from 1763 to 1775. The Heart of the great Redeemer, he writes, is set upon this project, and God's displeasure at the failure of His People to convert the Indians is manifested in His "permitting the Savages to be such a sore Scourge to our Land, and "make such Depredations on our Frontiers, inhumanly butchering "and captivating our People."[1]

Without this divine sanction Wheelock would never have undertaken the difficult task of educating the Indians. But there were mundane sanctions too for carrying on the work, and of a sort which brought forth Ezra Stiles' comment that Wheelock "had much of the religious Politician in his Make."[2] If one half the money, Wheelock argues, that has for many years been expended in building, manning, and supporting forts had been used for the employing of missionaries and schoolmasters among the savages, the converted Indians "would have been a far better Defence than all our expensive Fortresses."[3] This reason Wheelock was to advance many times in the following years to those of a worldly nature who were likely to be convinced by such an appeal. Still further, Wheelock pointed out, in the Royal Charter of the Colony of Connecticut the Christianizing of the natives was expressly mentioned. And finally, he believed that the profit to the Crown would compensate for all the expense. These, he continues, were some of the considerations which influenced him, "though I did not then think "much of any Thing more than only to clear myself, and Family, of "partaking in the public Guilt of our Land and Nation in such a "Neglect" of the savages.[4]

[1] NARRATIVE I, *11*.

[2] DIARY, II, *338*.

[3] NARRATIVE I, *11*.

[4] *Idem, 14*.

More immediate stimuli were at hand. Round about Wheelock many efforts had been made and were being made to convert the aborigines. For more than a hundred years missionaries had been working among them. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century John Eliot had established his circuit of missions, and the Mayhews had long been famous for their preaching and teaching on Martha's Vineyard. By 1674 there were about eleven hundred "praying Indians" located in villages within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts,[5] and (in 1685) over fourteen hundred in Plymouth Colony.[6]

Closer to Wheelock in place and time was the missionary work of James Fitch, who labored at Norwich, Connecticut, until his death in 1702,[7] and of Jonathan Barber,[8] who in spite of the danger that rum-drinking among the Indians would nullify his efforts, succeeded so far as to convert Ben Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans. This not quite "last of the Mohicans" was rewarded with a hat and coat, English style, and his wife was given a gown by the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, and at public expense.[9] Eliphalet Adams and David Jewett, contemporaries of Wheelock and personally known to him, had preached for many years to the Mohegans at New London, and at Stratford, Connecticut, the catechetical lecture of Samuel Johnson, later first president of King's College, was generally attended by some Indians.[10] Other names of missionaries from Wheelock's time abound: Richard Treat, Daniel Edwards, Peter Pratt—. Daniel Boardman and Samuel Canfield were appointed to the New Milford Indians; John Sergeant, to be succeeded by Jonathan Edwards, was well known for his work at Stockbridge. The Moravians in 1741[11] had preached to the Scatocooks in Kent. It would be an easy matter to extend the list of missionaries who, supported by religious societies or by the General Assemblies of Connecticut and of Massachusetts Bay, supplied stimulus to Wheelock. With the work of all or most of these ministers Wheelock must have been familiar. And lastly, it should be noted that in 1745 David Brainerd, missionary in New Jersey, sent Wheelock a copy of his journal, the record of his work among the Delawares.

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[5] MASS. HIST. SOC. COLLECTIONS I, *195*.

[6] *Idem, 201.*

[7] *DeForest, 274.*

[8] *Idem, 344.*

[9] COLONIAL RECORDS OF CONN., VIII, *72-73*.

[10] *Pascoe, 46.*

[11] *DeForest, 409.*

In the first published biography of Eleazar Wheelock mention is made of another reason for Wheelock's undertaking the salvation of the savages.[12] The authors state that Wheelock's salary as pastor of the North Society in Lebanon, Connecticut, was insufficient for his support, that he was forced to draw on his patrimony, and that he concluded to give his parish only "a corresponding part of his time and labors." If Wheelock really did assume that he could supplement his income by instructing Indians—and I doubt very much if he did—he was soon disillusioned. By 1762 (eight years after the school proper began) he had advanced out of his own funds some £57; by 1765 he had spent £280 of his own money and owed £400 more; and by 1778, according to an auditors' report, he had disbursed £1747.19.7½!

Whatever the reasons were, Wheelock concluded that the task was unavoidable. Nothing remained but to draw up a plan, obtain scholars, and finance the school.

For the most part the Christianizing of the Indians had been attempted by ministers resident or visiting among them. Few ministers, relative to their total number, were willing to undertake such work for any length of time. They were alienated, of course, during their term of service from their own kind. The food was all too frequently vile, and their lives were often endangered by drunken or hostile Indians. Such a career did not suit Wheelock. He was a minister of some importance in the Windham County Association. He was possessed of considerable property by church settlement, inheritance, purchase, and second marriage. Furthermore, his family, in 1754, was large: a wife and six children. Obviously he had hostages that prevented him from taking up his residence among the Indians. His health, too, was poor, although no poorer than that of some of the men he sent out later. Oddly enough (as far as the researches of the editor have gone), there is no evidence that Wheelock ever visited the Indians in their remote settlements in the Province of New York or that he ever visited any body of Indians in Connecticut. The assumption is reasonable, though, that he did visit the Connecticut Indians on certain unrecorded occasions.

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[12] MEMOIRS OF THE REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, *by David M'Clure and Elijah Parish, 20.*

Wheelock decided that white missionaries were unsatisfactory.[13] The Indians, he stated, had imbibed prejudices against the English because of the white man's greed for land. Much more, he believed, could be effected by training the Indians, and returning them to their brethren. The cost would be one half that of educating a white man, the Indian would be considered an honor to his tribe, and the interests of his people would be his own.

The site of the school was of great importance. In Wheelock's opinion a training school for missionaries, if established among the Indians, was likely to fail because of the attendant temptations. Dishonest and rum-selling traders, the lure of the hunt or of warfare or of roaming, and the scoffing of unconverted savages always tended, he argued, to frustrate discipline. Wheelock therefore decided that the school should be located in Lebanon, Connecticut, his own parish, where the Indian children would not only be out of the way of temptation but would be stimulated by the example of law-abiding whites.

In such suitable surroundings Indian boys and girls were to be educated for missionary work, and on charity. They were to be selected from different and distant tribes, and during their residence at the school develop friendships which, it was hoped, would later prove helpful in promoting the Christian religion when they returned to their homes. The boys were to be trained in the rudiments of a secular and religious education, and in husbandry. The girls would substitute "housewifery" for husbandry—"in what- "ever should be necessary to render them fit, to perform the Female "Part, as Housewives, School-mistresses, Tayloresses, &c. and to go "and be with these Youth, when they shall be hundreds of Miles "distant from the English on the Business of their Mission."[14] A few white scholars who showed promise were also to be trained at the school; from this early contact with the Indians they would quickly learn the Indian languages, and thus save in the field the cost of an interpreter, and increase their own usefulness. All this seemed very promising, on paper.

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[13] NARRATIVE I, *15 ff.*

On December 18, 1754, two Delawares arrived: John Pumshire, aged fourteen, and Jacob Woolley, aged eleven, both sent by John Brainerd from New Jersey at Wheelock's request. With these two students, rather than with Samson Occom, whom Wheelock had educated (1743-48), the school begins. Colonel Joshua More[15] of Mansfield supplied a house and a schoolhouse at Lebanon. Additional students were recruited: thus in 1757, a Pequot and two Delawares; in 1758, a Mohegan; in 1759, a Montauk; in 1760, two more Mohegans, and a white scholar, Samuel Kirkland of Norwich, who was to be the most successful missionary ever sent out by Wheelock. In 1761 the first girls came to the school, one a Mohegan, the other a Delaware, and in the same year, five Mohawks, among them being Joseph Brant, the brother of Sir William Johnson's Molly, later to be distinguished as the leader of the Six Nations. It is not the purpose of the editor to note the increments of the following years.

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[14] NARRATIVE I, *15. Wheelock was here following the example of John Sergeant of Stockbridge, whom he quotes on the value of educating girls* (NARRATIVE I, *34, fn.).*

[15] *The spelling of the name varies, but when applied to the school is usually given as Moor. In 1758, because of a flaw in the original deed, More's widow reconveyed the property, to Wheelock personally. From then until the incorporation of Dartmouth College the original name,* MOOR'S CHARITY SCHOOL, *was dropped. On the title-pages of his nine Narratives Wheelock gives* INDIAN CHARITY-SCHOOL. *In order to avoid confusion I have used* MOOR'S CHARITY SCHOOL *throughout this volume.*

Suffice to state that by 1765 there had come to the school twenty-nine Indian boys, ten Indian girls, and seven white boys, all on charity.

An excerpt from one of Wheelock's letters (to George Whitefield, July 4, 1761) may be of interest in showing some of the problems encountered by Wheelock. He writes, "None know, nor can "any, without Experience, well conceive of, the Difficulty of Educat-"ing an Indian. They would soon kill themselves with Eating and "Sloth, if constant care were not exercised for them at least the "first Year–they are used to set upon the Ground, and it is as Nat-"ural for them as a seat to our Children–they are not wont to have "any Cloaths but what they wear, nor will without much Pains be "brot to take Care of any.–They are used to a Sordid Manner of "Dress, and love it as well as our Children to be clean.–They are "not used to any Regular Government, the sad Consequences of "which you may a little guess at–they are used to live from Hand "to Mouth (as we Speak) and have no Care for Futurity–they "have never been used to the Furniture of an English House, and "dont know but that a Wineglass is as strong as an Hand Iron–Our "Language when they seem to have got is not their Mother Tongue "and they cannot receive nor communicate in that as in their Own. "–It is a long time before they will learn the proper Place & use of "the Particles. *a, an the,* &c. And they are as unpolished & uncul-"tivated within as without. however Experience has taught us that "it may be done. And they lie as open to Conviction of the Truth "of their State, when proper Matter of Conviction is Comunicated "to them as any, and there is as Much Ground to hope for their "Conversion. And I am still of the Opinion that the Time of Gods "Mercy is now near at Hand."

Candidates were ready for examination in the year 1765. The *Connecticut Board of Correspondents* (representing the *Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge)*[16] examined and approved two whites as missionaries, three Indians as schoolmasters, and six other Indians as "ushers," that is, as qualified to assist in teaching, but because of their youthfulness not considered competent to control a school. Thus Wheelock had the satisfaction, eleven years after the opening of the school, of sending to the Six Nations in the Province of New York ten "graduates"—one of the ushers having been retained in Lebanon. In the same year these missionaries and schoolmasters reported that there were one hundred and twenty-seven Indians attending the various schools which had been established.

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[16] *See Appendix B.*

For financing the school Wheelock had to rely, of course, on charity. He was indefatigable in memorializing legislatures and begging from individuals. Money was received from the Marquis of Lothian, from the General Assemblies of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, from churches in New York, from John Phillips of Exeter, from ministers in England. The Colony of Connecticut on two separate occasions (in 1763 and 1766) authorized the reading of briefs in the churches. The records show an amazing array of contributions: johannes, pisterenes, "a little girl a copper," Bibles, a bell, clothing, lawful money, sterling, currency of the various colonies—. Fortunately, Wheelock has totalled these sums: he informs us that from 1754 to 1765 he spent £1639, sterling, all collected from charity. Nevertheless, as stated earlier in this preface, he had to draw on his own funds. Like many successful educators he was unable to keep within his budget.

Wheelock was now (1765) on the verge of an important change. Had he continued simply as the head of a charitable school for Indians he would today be known, in all probability, as just another of the numerous and minor educators of the time. The change, however, meant his removal from Lebanon to Hanover, New Hampshire, as the founder and first president of Dartmouth College.

There were several causes for this expansion. First should be mentioned Wheelock's increased income. In 1765 Nathaniel Whitaker and Samson Occom voyaged across the Atlantic and collected over nine thousand pounds in England and about twenty-five hundred pounds in Scotland. These sums, larger than any educator up to that time had had at his disposal for missionary work, stimulated Wheelock to enlarge what he affectionately called the "great design." The site in Lebanon was unsatisfactory, principally because of its distance from the Six Nations. Besides, Wheelock could hardly hope to rival Yale University or to compete against a well established institution in raising funds from the Colony of Connecticut. Of all this Wheelock was aware even before Whitaker and Occom went to England and Scotland; as early as 1760 he had begun to look for a more suitable site, and in 1763 had applied to General Amherst for a large tract along the Susquehanna.[17]

Furthermore, he was gradually disillusioned regarding the profit of sending out Indians as missionaries. Most of his efforts seemed wasted. Among those whom he had educated, so he writes in the sixth Narrative, "there have been near forty who were good "readers and writers, and were instructed in the principles of the "christian religion, as their age, and time would admit, and were "sufficiently masters of English grammar, arithmetic, and a number "of them considerably advanced in the knowledge of Greek and "Latin, and one of them carried through college, and was a good "scholar."[18] These Indians, he continues, have generally behaved well while at the school, and have gone out with "fair and unblemished characters." But temptations have been too strong for them, so that "I don't hear of more than half who have preserved their "characters unstained either by a course of intemperance or un-"cleanness, or both; and some who on account of their parts, and "learning, bid the fairest for usefulness, are sunk down into as low, "savage, and brutish a manner of living as they were in before—. "And six of those who did preserve a good character are now

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[17] DOC. HIST. OF N. Y., IV, *210.*

[18] NARRATIVE VI, *19. The reference is to Jacob Woolley. Wheelock's statement is incorrect. Actually, Woolley was dismissed in his senior year from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) for "loitering."*

"dead."[19] These discouragements forced him to decide to educate white students who after graduation could be sent to the Six Nations.

Another reason operated to bring about a change in plan and site. I refer to the alienation of Wheelock from Sir William Johnson, the result partly of differences in religion (Johnson belonged to the Church of England, Wheelock was a Congregationalist), and partly of the conduct of Wheelock's emissaries to the congress at Fort Stanwix.

Wheelock had counted much on the favor of Sir William. In 1756 he had applied to him for aid and had been answered favorably. Five years later Johnson sent five Indians, and in 1762 he wrote Wheelock's brother-in-law, Benjamin Pomeroy, that he had always entertained "the most favourable Sentiments" toward Wheelock.[20] Unfortunately, Wheelock did not know of the letters which Johnson was writing to friends of the Church of England. What would he have thought of the opinion which Johnson expressed in 1763 to Henry Barclay? In that year, five months after he had written to Pomeroy, Johnson stated that the Indians instructed by Dissenting ministers "have imbibed an air of most Enthusiastical cant." In the same letter he had also written, but crossed out, a passage in which he compared the Dissenters to the "most bigotted Puritans," "with the greatest Distortion of the features & zealous Belchings of the Spirit."[21] In 1766 Sir William was enrolled as a member of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,* and while expressing his pleasure to the secretary of that society, added: " I "cannot but think that the members of that Church (*Church of Eng-* "*land*) are the Surest Supporters of the Constitution, and that they "are the faithfullest Subjects of the Crown an Argument which may "be particularly applied to America Where the Number of Dissent- "ers and the measures they pursue threaten more than our Religious

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[19] *See Appendix B, 300, on the failure of the Indian College at Harvard.*

[20] Doc. Hist. of N. Y., IV, *205.*

[21] Johnson Papers, IV, *March 30, 1763.*

"liberties if not timely prevented, which is a Melancholy truth "that my present Subject will not permit me to enlarge upon "in more than one Instance–. Mr. Wheelock's plan seems a laud-"able one but give me leave to remark that many of these Schemes "which had their birth in N England have soon appeared calcul-"lated with a View to forming Settlements so obnoxious to the Ind^{s} "who have repeatedly declared their aversion to those who acted "on such interested principles; All the good Lands in N Eng^{d} being "thick Settled they are extremely desirous of Migrating & have "created much disturbance by attempting it, another objection is "that those brought up under the Care of Dissenting Ministers "become a Gloomy race & lose their Abilities for hunting &ca spend "their time in Idleness & hang^{g} upon the Inhabit^{s}. for a Wretched "subsistence hav^{g} lost those Qualities w^{ch} rendr them usefull to us "with^{t} acquir^{g} any others in their place worthy the Name of "Christ^{ns}. to w^{ch} indeed they have little or no pretensions all w^{ch} "discountenances Religion with the rest of the Ind^{s}.–"[22] Johnson was a prime mover in establishing Church of England missions, yet in answer to a letter from Wheelock asking for information regarding rumors, Johnson diplomatically replied[23] that "by Accots I have "received from the Venerable Society, and by other Letters I am "informed of their having an Establishment much at heart and of "their resolutions to put the same immediately into Execution." The same information he might have had by consulting his own letters to the society or to friends of it.[24]

The purpose of these explanations has been to show that various causes were contributing to Wheelock's discontent with his original program. I have stated that he was inspired by the large sums raised in England and Scotland to reach out beyond his first plan; that his disappointments with his Indians led him to emphasize the training of whites, and that the opposition of the Church of England and of Sir William was gradually forcing him to modifications. A word more is necessary in regard to Wheelock's relations with Johnson.

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[22] JOHNSON PAPERS, V, *Oct. 8, 1766.*

[23] IDEM, *Sept. 19, 1767.*

[24] *For instance,* JOHNSON PAPERS, IV, *March 30, 1763;* V, *Feb. 1, 1766; Oct. 8, 1766; Nov. 8, 1766; Dec. 2, 1766, to name only a few.*

It was at the Fort Stanwix Congress that Wheelock lost whatever favor he may have enjoyed from Johnson.

The congress was one of the most important gatherings of whites and Indians in the eighteenth century, and was attended by large numbers of Indians and by the several governors of the colonies. To represent him and to plead for the school Wheelock selected (others having failed him) the Rev. Jacob Johnson of Groton, and David Avery, a former pupil. It would have been difficult to make a worse choice than of the former. Jacob Johnson was not only devoid of any sense of diplomacy—he showed signs even of an unbalanced, or at least of an unconventional, mind. While at the congress he wrote Sir William asking for protection against the Indians and priests, and in a postcript stated, "As I am a seer, I may be knowing "to some things your Excellency possibly may not which occasions "me thus to write."[25] In addition, during one of the banquets he had proposed a toast, just what is not known, but from the explanation which he gave Sir William[26] it must have been out of order. According to his explanation, he will drink to the King as long as the King rules justly, but when the King begins to rule with a rod of iron, he will seek a retreat elsewhere or join with the discontented in founding an empire distinct from the British. And, having warned Sir William that "we are quite unwilling to be circumvented in any way whatsoever being assured our Design is good," he proceeded to address the Six Nations, asking them to donate a tract of land on or near the Mohawk river for the purposes of the school![27] He informed Wheelock that he had even tried to dissuade the Indians from accepting the terms of Sir William and the assembled governors. Wheelock had for long been interested in the Susquehanna

[25] DOC. HIST. OF N. Y., IV, *247*.

[26] IDEM, *246-247*.

[27] IDEM, *248*.

Purchase (by which, in 1754, territory along the Susquehanna had been sold to Connecticut) and now there was danger that the sale would be repudiated. As we know, it was, and the disputed territory was re-allocated to Pennsylvania, thereby causing a quarter of century of conflict. Sir William was convinced that Wheelock had hoped to secure part of this tract or other land in New York.[28] As soon as Wheelock was fully apprised by Avery of the turn of affairs, he dispatched Ebenezer Cleaveland and Allen Mather in an effort to conciliate Sir William, but they were unable to change materially the impression already given. Wheelock vigorously denied that he was party to Jacob Johnson's conduct. In a letter to Sir William in 1769 he asserted that Jacob Johnson had no commission for any one step which he took, and that he was supposed to request countenance for the school, and nothing more. He condemned, too, his agent's "total deficiency as to common sense." Nevertheless, remembering Wheelock's often expressed desire for land along the Susquehanna, I cannot accept this denial *in toto*. It seems probable that Jacob Johnson had been commissioned by Wheelock to acquire land for Moor's Charity School, and that he exceeded his instructions when he involved himself in the Connecticut-Pennsylvania controversy. The problem would be solved if we knew the nature of the "extraordinary private Instructions of Mr. Wheelock" which Sir William somehow obtained. These, according to Sir William, "shew them in a very odd Light."[29] At any rate, in the year 1768 friendly relations between Wheelock and Sir William were severed.[30]

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[28] DOC. HIST. OF N. Y., IV, *249 (Nov. 24, 1768).*

[29] JOHNSON PAPERS, VI, *Dec. 10, 1768.*

[30] *In justice to Jacob Johnson I call the reader's attention to a biography of him by F. C. Johnson* (WILKES-BARRE RECORD PRINT, *1911). The author attempts, unsuccessfully, I think, to exonerate his ancestor. Against the accusation that Jacob Johnson was responsible for alienating Sir William he advances that (1) Sir William was no longer friendly to any religious group other than the Church of England. (2) Moor's Charity School had passed its period of usefulness. Wheelock himself was discouraged, and his English patrons were withholding donations. (The last statement is incorrect). (3) The approach of the Revolution made the continuance of the*

The story now approaches its conclusion. In 1769 the Oneidas withdrew their children from the school, ostensibly that they might visit their parents, perhaps because of impending hostilities, but more likely because of Sir William's influence. Wheelock sent home the remaining children from the Six Nations. The Church of England expanded its work among the Six Nations, and established missions at the very locations which Wheelock had selected. The Canadian Indians offered a source of recruits. Everything pointed to a change. In 1769 a charter was granted by the Crown for Dartmouth College, named after William, Earl of Dartmouth, president of the English Trust, and in 1770 Wheelock removed to Hanover, New Hampshire. There as president of Dartmouth College and of Moor's Charity School (removed also to Hanover), he began the last decade of his life.

At this point a summary of the various missions established by Wheelock up to the date of his removal may be welcomed. I make no effort to evaluate accomplishments, but merely list names and dates.

The first missionary sent out byWheelock was Samson Occom. On June 10, 1761, he departed from Lebanon with David Fowler (Montauk) to visit the Oneidas. Occom stayed among them for nine weeks; Fowler returned in August with three Mohawk boys. In 1762 Occom paid a second visit to the Oneidas, and remained until the fall. During the following year he returned once more, but the outbreak of Pontiac's War caused him to withdraw. In the same year, too, Samuel Ashpo (Mohegan) was obliged to leave Chenango, having been there only six weeks, and Charles Jeffrey Smith, who had gone with Joseph Brant, his interpreter, to the Six Nations, also withdrew because of hostilities. All missionary work was therefore suspended during this year.

school impossible. (4) If Jacob Johnson hastened the change to Dartmouth College he is to be praised.

The author mentions that Jacob Johnson wore a "girdle of hair" in imitation of John the Baptist, that he was a seer, had a premonition of his own death, prepared for his funeral, dug his own grave, and died on the day foretold.

In October, 1764, Samuel Kirkland and Joseph Woolley (Delaware) were sent out. The latter was installed in a school at Onohoquaga, where he taught until his death in the latter part of November, 1765. The former remained for six weeks at Johnson Hall, and by February, 1765, was among the Senecas at Canadasega. He remained with them until May, 1766.

Missionary work was stimulated in 1765 by the arrival (March 12) of Good Peter, an Oneida chief, who had come from Onohoquaga to ask for teachers. During the year a number were dispatched to the Six Nations. Abraham *Primus* and Abraham *Secundus* (Mohawks) returned to their people in charge of schools. David Fowler began to teach (June 3) at Canajoharie, but was driven away in a few weeks by famine. Theophilus Chamberlain settled in Butlersbury, and from that town as a center of a circuit itinerated among the neighboring towns until June, 1767, when he left Wheelock's service. Titus Smith, with Elisha Gunn as interpreter, went to Onohoquaga, found that the Indians had gone to Lake Otsego because of the famine, followed them, and installed Moses (Mohawk) among them as schoolmaster. Smith preached at Onohoquaga after the return of the Indians, and was withdrawn by the *Connecticut Board of Correspondents* (Oct. 17). In this same year, also, Hezekiah Calvin (Delaware) was teaching at Fort Hunter, where he continued for about two years. Altogether there were one hundred and twenty-seven Indian scholars during 1765.

In the following year Ralph Wheelock and the Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy aided in placing various teachers. Aaron Kinne was installed at Cherry Valley, but had to abandon his school because of ill health. Kirkland went to Canajoharie, and began his forty years service among the Oneidas. David Macclure, Joseph Johnson (Mohegan), David Fowler, and Nathan Clap ("a Cape Cod Indian") were teaching at Canajoharie. Samuel Johnson and Jacob Fowler (Montauk) took over the schools kept by the two Abrahams. Ashpo returned to Chenango and remained until he was suspended in 1767 for drunkenness. One hundred scholars were reported for this year.

In 1767 Ralph Wheelock visited the Six Nations again, returned in 1768 for the third time, and aroused the anger of the Indians by his treatment of them. (See pp. 287-288 for their rebuke to Ralph.)

The year 1769 was disastrous. The Indians had refused to accept missionaries or schoolmasters from Wheelock and in January three Oneidas came to Lebanon and took away the Oneida children, of whom there were six in the school. Before the end of the year Kirkland alone of all the missionaries was in the field, and he was about to leave Wheelock. Twice during the next decade Wheelock attempted to reinstate his men among the Six Nations. In 1771 he sent David Avery to assist Kirkland and to report on conditions. Avery contrived to remain a year but, because of the opposition of the Indians, left them in 1772. And, finally, Wheelock sent (1772) John Matthews and Abraham Simon (Narragansetts) to the Tuscaroras for scholars, without success. Thus ended Wheelock's relations with the Six Nations.

Wheelock was now back at his starting point. For various reasons the many men trained by him were no longer in his service, and the Indian scholars in Moor's Charity School were reduced to a handful—in the spring of 1772 he had only five, all from New England. At once he began to send out recruiting parties. Sylvanus Ripley and a Lieutenant Thomas Taylor of Claremont, N. H., left in July for Canada, and returned in September with eight Indians from Caughnawaga (four of whom were dismissed in the following year), and two Hurons from Lorette. By the end of the year Wheelock reported seventy students, all told, in school and college, of whom seventeen were Indians and twenty-two whites on charity. The others were paying students. In 1773 other parties were sent to Canada—to Montreal, Saint Francis, Quebec, Caughnawaga, and to tribes along the Bay of Fundy. By the spring of 1775 Wheelock was caring for twenty Indians, Canadian and New England.

Mission work of course formed a very small part of the program during this period. In 1772 Wheelock sent David Macclure and Levi Frisbie to a Delaware post about one hundred miles west of Fort Pitt on the Muskingum River, but the Indians refused to accept Macclure (Frisbie had been left behind on the trip because of illness). In 1773 Thomas Kendall was sent to Caughnawaga, where he kept a school for part of the year, and in 1774 for a short period. But in general circumstances did not favor work in the field. The *Society in Scotland* refused to pay the expenses of any delegate to Canada because, according to the *Society,* that country was well enough provided for in other ways. Furthermore, the fund collected in England was totally exhausted in 1774, and Wheelock could not afford support for missionaries. Dartmouth College was claiming more and more of his time and resources. Above all, the troubled times of the Revolution did not favor missionary work among outlying tribes. Consequently, this decade was devoted to the organization of the school and college and town, and to the recruiting of Indians.

Thus the story of the original plan ends on a minor note. The active years for the missionaries had been from 1761 to 1769. The rest of the story is really the history of Dartmouth College. Indians, to be sure, were accepted in the following century, and still are, but after Wheelock's death Dartmouth College ceased to be primarily interested in the Indian.

The material in this volume has been arranged, in general, alphabetically. Practically all the letters included are in the Archives Room of the Dartmouth College Library, and I have, of course, used these originals, without *improving* on them. In the appendices will be found a list of the Indians who attended Moor's Charity School during the life of Eleazar Wheelock, and a statement on the missionary societies of the eighteenth century.

JAMES DOW MCCALLUM

Dartmouth College,
March, 1931.

LETTERS

Of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians

John Brainerd

John Brainerd[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

Brunswick, Mar. 23, 1757.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,

Your Favour of November 15 came Safe to hand with Huntington & John Pumshire, and would have had my grateful Returns long before now, had any Opportunity presented. Poor little John tarried with us a while, but Seem'd rather enclin'd to be among his Relations: And accordingly went to the Indian-Town, where he had a comfortable, warm Lodging provided in his Uncle's House, and all the Comforts we could help him to. But he did not live long to need 'em: He departed this Life the 26th Day of January, and was decently buried on y^e 28. His Death was Sudden & unexpected . . . When I first Saw him indeed, I did not think he would continue long; yet I thought he might probably live til some Time in the Spring. I was from home when he died, and knew Nothing of it til, I Suppose, he was in his

Grave. I was with him the Sabbath but one before, and had Some Discourse about the Concerns of his Soul, but he was So very deaf that it was extremely difficult to converse at all with him. His whole Behaviour was Christian-like, and he has left us, I think, some Grounds for a comfortable Hope concerning him. . . . This is the Second Frown of Providence on our Attempts of this kind; which we ought to take Suitable Notice of, and doubtless be humbled for; but I am far from thinking we should Set down in Discouragement. And therefore, according to your Desire, I have Sent you two more Indian Boys for Education. The Eldest is Joseph Wolley, a Child that has behaved himself Soberly, of a middleing good Capacity, naturally modest, and Something bashful. He is not the Boy I intended, but being disappointed of him, this is the best I could Send. and perhaps may answer as well as the other. The younger[2] is the Same you had an Acc^{t} of, and for whom you wrote. He is a Smart little Fellow, but will want taking Care of. He loves to play, and will have his Hat in one Place & his Mittens in another. Your Wisdom will direct: You will Soon find out their Tempers and know how to treat them. Josey, you will See cloathed with poor little John's Apparrel, I hope he appears in a better Dress. May the Blessing of Heaven go with the Children. and ever attend your pious & painful Endeavours.

Pomroy[3] will be able to give a full & particular Account of as remarkable an Instance of divine Grace as perhaps has been known in these latter Ages. God has graciously condescended to visit the College,[4] and wrought a most Surprising Reformation among the Students. Without any extraordinary Means, a Serious Concern began and within a few Days Spread through the whole Society, til there was not one Member, except those who were hopefully religious before, but was brought to enquire *what shall I do to be Saved.* And altho' the Concern, in general, was deep & pungent, yet it was attended with no external Indecency or Irregularity. It began about the Middle of February, and altho' 'Tis to be feared Some will loose their Convictions without a Saving Effect, yet the

Prospect as to the Generality, is still very hopeful. The Reformation, so far as can now be discover'd, appears thorough, and upon solid Grounds. And O, how delightful to behold! And what Cause of Thankfulness & Praise to the Gracious Author! May the Divine Influence Spread far and wide 'til *the Earth shall be full of the Glory of the Lord.* Poor Pomroy has wholly given up his old Hope,—if it was ill-grounded, 'tis an infinite favour, God grant his next may be on the Sure Foundation.

We have encouraging News from Mr. Whitefield respecting your laudable Undertaking. May the Lord give Prosperity, and make that School an happy Means of Spreading the Gospel to the most dark and distant Parts. I thought it was a determined Point that it should be erected in Connecticut; which gave Rise to what I said in a former Letter, and to which I receivd a Satisfactory Answer, which is now gratefully acknowledged. I want to say much more, but must conclude for the present with affectionate Regard to Mrs. Wheelock, in which my Spouse joins, and respectful Salutations to your Family & all Friends and am, Revd & Hond Sir,

your ver. humb. Sev^{t}

JOHN BRAINERD

THE REVD MR WHEELOCK

My kind Love to little Jacob

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[1] *John Brainerd, missionary to the Delawares of New Jersey, had sent Wheelock two Indian boys, John Pumshire, aged fourteen, and Jacob Woolley, aged eleven. They arrived at Lebanon, Conn., Dec. 18, 1754. The former "made uncommon Proficiency in Writing," and both "made considerable Progress in the Latin and Greek Tongues." Pumshire's health failed, and Wheelock sent him back, Nov 14, 1756. He died, according to this letter, Jan. 26, 1757.*

The two Delawares referred to in this letter are the second pair sent by Brainerd.

[2] *Hezekiah Calvin. (See pp. 47 ff).*

[3] *Ralph Pomeroy (Princeton, 1758) son of Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, Wheelock's brother-in-law.*

[4] *The College of New Jersey (Princeton).*

Samuel Ashpo, MOHEGAN

SAMUEL ASHPO *was born at Mohegan in the year 1718, and entered Moor's Charity School Sept. 25, 1762, in his forty-fourth year. He had been a schoolmaster even before Wheelock accepted him, having taught (1753-57) at Mushantuxet. According to Wheelock, he fell in with some sailors from New London, became a drunkard, and was forced to resign his post. By 1759 he was again teaching at Mushantuxet. In 1763, one year after he entered the school, he was licensed at Hartford, and appointed to preach at Chenango, New York, where he remained for six weeks. At this time he had recanted his unorthodox, "enthusiastical" religious opinions. In 1766 he was again appointed to Chenango for four or five months, with a salary of five pounds a month, and in 1767 was suspended for drunkenness. He is said to have preached much among the New England Indians, especially at Niantic, in his later years. According to his epitaph he "died Nov^r^ 7^th^ 1795 in the 77^th^ year of his age."*

Debts, drunkenness, and wayward religious opinions generally kept him in trouble.[1]

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[1] *This biographical sketch is based on information found in the letters of Eleazar Wheelock, the* NARRATIVES, *and W. De Loss Love's* Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England. *Similarly with the subsequent sketches, unless otherwise noted.*

Samuel Ashpo

Eleazar Wheelock to Gideon Hawley[1]

Lebanon, June 10, 1761.

REV^d & DEAR BROTHER

One Sam^1 Ashpo, a Mohegan, was Supposd to become a real Christian some Years ago, & I admitted him into this Chh he behaved very Well Several Years till he got into the Company of saylors at N London, & got Drunk he soon after came and with Tears informd me of his Fall and seemd very much afflicted and I thought gave satisfying Evidence of Repentance. desired to make a public Confession &c and I suppose has never tasted of any Spiritous Liquor of any Sort since. Some Years ago under the Influence of lay Exhort^rs he was seduced and received Ordination in their Way [by the Hands of Such Creatures *crossed out*] Yet he has not appeard to be one of the most Bitter Censorious, furious, & uncharitable Sort. nor could I never find but that his religious Principles except what relate to his Ordination are Good. but he has very thoroughly imbibed such independ.^t and Brownistic Principles as I find many good sort of pp in your Province zealous to defend and he has gone on to exercise the Power thus rec^d from y^t Chh. last year he went to Onohoquaga.[2] On his return he lodgd at my House & informd me of a great concern among the Indians in those parts especially at Jeningo[3] which I was the more inclind to give cred^t to bec. I had heard of it otherways. This year he has made them another Visit. & lodgd again at my House on his Return this Week and informs me that there are about *(20?)* at Jeningo which he thinks to be really converted. and a Gen^l Concern among Others. that they are very unwill^g y^t y^e English should get footing among them lest by & by they root them out as they have done in New England. that they have had a Meeting and voted to have him for their Min. and desired him to make Application to the Comiss^rs for his Support and for the Support of some Indian as Schoolmaster. ——— Ashpo is determined to see the Comiss^{rs} & earnestly desired me to write in his Fav.^{r} I told him I could write no more than a plain honest Narrative of the Truth. & y^{t} the Comiss^{rs} were heartily ingagd to do any thing in y^{r} Power to further y^{e} Great Design of Spread^{g} the Gospel among the Indians but they knew what Mischeif such Principles as he held had done in the Chh, and I was perswaded would take utmost care y^{t} such should not be laid in y^{e} very Bottom among the Pagans. I have taken much Pains to convince him of his Mistake. & have told him there is a probability y^{t} he might do good among them if he were delivered from those errors, and would take pains to furnish himself with useful knowledge and would act only in his proper Sphere. As I suppose Ashpo will visit them again whether he be encouraged by the Comiss^{rs} or not so perhaps it will not be prudent or best he should be at once thrown into Dispair of Fav^{r} & Countenance from them or you but rather tenderly be put in your Arms and held upon Trial if he will act or be encouraged to act under your Direction and Conduct. and if he should be ductile and Teachable I dont conclude y^{t} he will not serve y^{e} cause as I can but entertain a charitable hope concerning his State & the Honesty of his Intentions. however the case appears to me very Dangerous and Difficult.

Yours in the Dearest Bonds
ELEAZR WHEELOCK

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[1] *Born at Stratfield (Bridgeport), Conn., Nov. 5, 1727. Was graduated from Yale, 1749. In 1752 he was missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, Mass., under the patronage of Jonathan Edwards. In 1753 he went among the Six Nations and in the following year was formally ordained missionary. During the French and Indian War he acted as army chaplain, and after the war settled at Mashpee, Mass., (1758), where he remained until his death, Oct. 3, 1807 (Sprague,* ANNALS*).*

[2] *In what is now Broome County, New York.*

[3] *Now Chenango, New York, about four miles north of Binghamton.*

David Jewett[1] *to Eleazar Wheelock*

The Rev^{d} Mr Wheelock

Sir, I've the pleasure to inform you that d^{r} Bro^{r} Sam^{l} Ashpo has this Day returnd to his Duty & Priviledge in this Chh, in being rec^{d} by us at first upon y^{r} Recommendation.

This will give you Joy, and the more when you hear his Determination to Desist Preaching 'till approvd by those who may be appointed to Examine his Qualifications therefor. He will wait upon you wth these from

Y^{r} poor Bro.^{r}, & (-?) Lab^{r}
D. Jewett

Sab. Evg. Nov. 1, 1761.

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[1] *Born in Rowley, Mass., June 10, 1714. In 1736 he was graduated from Harvard, and in 1739 became pastor at Montville (New London), Conn. He died on June 6, 1783 (Sprague,* Annals).

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Recommendation of Samuel Ashpo

Mohegan July 29 1762.

We the Subscribers, having taken into our serious consideration the piteous & lamentable State of the Indians at Geningo on Susquehannah River, who, tho' desirous of hearing the Gospel, are totally destitute of it, & yet have numbers among them so prejudiced against the English by abuses they have, or Suppose they have received from them, that they will be no means admit an English missionary: and are desirous that Samuel Ashpo of Mohegen should come among them as a minister. And having examined s^{d} Ashpo concerning his principles & knowledge in christianity, & enquired into his moral character, are So far Satisfied, as to advise that he be devoted to the Study of divinity under the care & tuition of Some divine for Some convenient Space of time, and then Submit to another examination.

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK Pastor of y^e 2^d Chh in Lebanon
DAVID JEWETT, Pastor of y^e 2^d Chh in New London
NATH^l WHITAKER Pastor of y^e chh in Chelsea
PETER POWERS, Pastor of the Church in Newent.

◆

Robert Clelland[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

New London. Febry 17 1763

R S

I reced yours by freind Aspow, & by him has Sent a Smal Loaf of Suggar for yr Consort; It pleases me well, these 2 Sermons were acceptable, if you think any of your intimates would be desireous of a reading of them, let them have them for that purpose

What can be done for this tribe that has not been done I dont know, I never knew any number of people trample under foot so many mercies, they willfully frustrate all the good intentions of their best & Sincerest freinds, their freedom & Liberty to the extent they are Tolerated in, has been their ruin and will still be it Our S-m[2] is never sober when he can get Liquor enough to make him otherways, The Gardners keeps the cup frequently to his head, and often fidling and dancing, it is a merry house for frolicking

I calld at the office for y^r Letter the young man told some person got it, he said Mr Graves, so concluded it was Sent you, shall inquire further very soon I pray y^r precious life may be conteanued pray forget not poor unworthy I my dear wife & I joins in our Sincere regards to Madam & Self y^r unworthy freind

ROBERT CLELLAND

P.S. When you think proper to have Aspow on examination let me know and I will notify our Neighbouring min.^{rs} I desire you meet at my dwelling, it is a pleasure to me to entertain the ambassadors of peace. our Neighbours the Gardner famelys talk great things, that M^r Occum is to be over with his family this Spring and drive Mr. Jewett & I from Mohegan where I a young man, I would goe up and keep School amongst Some of the tribes above & Serve as a Catachist & Instructor that way

[1] *Clelland was schoolmaster to the Mohegans, at New London (1752-65).*

[2] *i.e., the sachem, Ben Uncas, third. The sachems of the Mohegans were (1) Uncas, "the great" (d. 1682 or 1683, Sylvester, I, 478). He aided largely in reducing the Pequots to a mere handful, was a noted warrior, but involved the Mohegans in more than a century of litigation (the "Mason controversy") by selling, as the whites claimed, or by deeding in trust to the whites, according to the Indians, some seven or eight hundred square miles, almost all of his territory, for five and a half yards of cloth and a few pairs of stockings. That was in 1640. In 1766 the case was finally decided in favor of the Colony of Connecticut. (2) Oweneco, his son (d. 1715). In his younger days he had been a notable warrior, but like his successors, was addicted to liquor. The story is that one night he fell out of a canoe when drunk, and in gratitude to his two white rescuers gave one hundred acres to each. In his latter days he went about the countryside with his queen, begging, and reciting this quaint rime:*

Oneco, king, his queen doth bring,
To beg a little food;
As they go along his friends among
To try how kind, how good.

Some pork, some beef, for their relief,
And if you can't spare bread,
She'll thank you for pudding, as they go a-gooding,
And carry it on her head.

(3) Cesar, his son (d. 1723); (4) Major Ben Uncas, youngest brother of Oweneco, and illegitimate son of the great Uncas (d. 1726); (5) Ben Uncas, second, his son (d. 1749, Cole, 12); (6) Ben Uncas, third, the sachem referred to in the text (d. 1769, Cole, 12). He was the last of the Mohegan sachems. After him the strongest claimant was his son, Isaiah Uncas, who never ruled. Isaiah entered Wheelock's school November 26, 1760, at the age of ten, but was such a poor student that he was "since taken to work on the Farm." He died (according to Love, 65) in 1770, the last male of the Ben Uncas line.

The Mohegans in 1763, the year of this letter, numbered certainly not more than one hundred warriors. DeForest (324) gives them eighty to one hundred warriors in 1735, and a total of seven hundred and fifty. In 1787 Occom told Ezra Stiles that there were only thirty families living on their four thousand acres at Mohegan, and perhaps half a dozen (families?) scattered elsewhere (Stiles, DIARY, *III, 263).*

License for Samuel Ashpo to Preach Among the Indians

We, the Subscribers, having, according to the Appointment of a Convention of Ministers, at the House of the Revd Elnathan Whitman of Hartford, examined Samuel Ashpo, an Indian of the Mohegan Tribe; & look upon him a Man of good Understanding in the most important Doctrines & Principles of Christianity. considering the great Disadvantages he has been brought up under; & he appears to have a truely religious Turn of Mind & to be inspired with a well tempered Zeal to introduce & Spread the knowledge of the true God & Saviour among his Savage Brethren in the Wilds of America. And we have also considered the Piteous & deplorable Case of the Indians at janingo (on Susquehannah River) & Places adjacent. where there is not the least Probability of introducting an English Missionary, at present, by Reason of the deep rooted Prejudices So many of them have imbibed against the English: and also considering the affection they have manifested to S^d Ashpo & desire of his coming to them in the Capacity of a Teacher, & that they have not any Bibles, or any that can read, & also appear (a number of them as we are informed) to be under Serious Concern about their Souls eternal Welfare.

And we are of Opinion that there is great Probability that the Interest of the Redeemer's Kingdom may be greatly Served by S^d Ashpo's going among them in that Capacity, and do accordingly approve of his Preaching the Gospel among the Indians where the Providence of God Shall open the Door for it: And we recommend him to the Kindness & Friendship of the Ministers of Christ as they Shall have oppertunity to express the Same particularly by teaching him the Way of God more perfectly. & commending him & his Ministry in their Prayers to the Blessing of God

JONATHAN BARBER, Scribe — ELIJAH LOTHROP
TIMOTHY PITKIN — NATH^l WHITAKER
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK Mod^r — BENJ^a POMROY
Hartford May 12th 1763 — SAM^l CLARK

Inasmuch as the above s^d *Ashpo* has heretofore been among the above s^d Indians in the Quality of a Christian Friend, & has met with a kind reception by their King & his Subjects, as in the exercises of his gifts & graces by way of Prayer Instruction & Exhortation, & they having Sent their earnest Requst that he would make them another Visit as heretofore; & they being at present averse to an *English Missionary*. it appears hopeful, that if S^d *Ashpo* gratify their requests, he may be of Special Service by the blessing of God to promote the Kingdom & Interest of our divine Redeemers among them

SAMUEL BUELL

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Robert Clelland to Eleazar Wheelock

22^d Jully 1763 Mohegan

R S

When I wrote to you of my geting B Aspows Grass cut and his grain reapt, I understood I was to have a Share of the grass, & wheat must pay for reaping. I can but make out to live Comfortably and for me to expend £5 for his wife needed meat also and no prospect when I should be paid. I could not doe it. Aspow is unwilling to part with any Grass or Grain, Mr Jewett has thought it adviseable for him to Secure his grain before he goes, and to advise further with you, as to his going in this difficult Juncture the Indians seems all to be in a ferment & Rupture.

I spoke to Hide and shall speak with Post & Weight, these Debts nor any oyr he ows need not stop him. Ben Uncas has sued him and obtain'd Judgement of Court for £3.10 on account of a Squa named Robin & given execution to Alden our Constable Uncas is a bad friend to Aspow, if Alden Cant be prevaild on to delay I dont know what can be done. Mr Jewett & I will use intrest w^h him.

Neighbour Aspow while in the Seperate Sceme like most oyr Indian took on where he could get creditt, and did not much take thought how he could pay, and how he will get out of Debt I cant devise unless by Subscription. I will be one of 50 or 40 to pay his Debt & Sett him free a list of which is underneath as near as I can come at or Judge. May God give you Strenth of Body and mind & encourage your heart in yr extraordinary work I am

Sir your obliged Humble Servt

ROBERT CLELLAND

Mr. Whiteker mentioned of yr paying for cuting Aspows grain, but best he Secure it himself.

List of Aspow's Debts

To Widow Hide	£ 3.10
To John Post	1.
To John Weight	1.10
To Widow Robin	3.10
To Ro Cleland for the Children of Damaris Aspow	3.
To Mr William Prince	10.
To John Dautuckquijan Indian	.17
To Christoper Leffenwell not certain about	1.10
To remains of an excution in favor of Mr. Robertson	2.
	£26.17

I am not certain as to Mr Leffenwells debt, but Aspow's debt he ows is not less than £27, Mr Alden told me there remain'd of Mr Robertsons excution 40/ or 50/ Pray take your prudent way to enquire of Aspow as to his debt—he thinks it less than it is, all the stock he has is 1 yock oxen 1 cow 1 Jade young Creature If you can obtain 27 men to pay 20/ the head I will be one of them, nothing more can be desired of me, but I cant undertake to get his gras & grain cut gratis.

Widow Occum & all her Children seem to be disafected with Bro^{r} Aspow should be glad upon Mr Occums return you undertook a reconciliation it would be a Service done Aspow

◆

Samuel Ashpo to Eleazar Wheelock

Jarevary[1] *August* 15th 1763

REV.^{d} ELEAZER WHEELOCK

SIR

Ageeable to your Desire I attempt to Write you a few Lines as will as I can according to the Short time allowed me. when I came to Albany I Saw not Rev^{d} Mar^{t}. and I know not what to write: from thince I wente to Sir William Johnson and I Saw not Him (but His Son) Aug 13th I sead unto Him what is become Rev.^{d} Smitch. for He was Sent to Preach to Mohoaks, and He Sead Smitch was hear two or three Days: and He is gone home about three weeks a goe because we hear enemies is coming: but their was nothing in it. for all our Mohoaks are Pice with us yet: and hear I meet mr Gunn[2] He come from Onohoguagee: He sead their is nodenger a mong the Indians at Onohoguagee or Janingo Indians, for they are all good friends, and He and I believe the Providence of God will open the Door. that I my Preach the Gospel to these Indians: but I have Short time to write: but I am well through the Blessing of God: and I hope you are the Same

I am your

Humble Servant

SAM^{ll} ASHPO

REV.^{d} ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

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[1] *I cannot find this name in any list or on any map. Does Ashpo mean "Cherry Valley"?*

[2] *Elisha Gunn, interpreter, in the employ of the* SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

John Smith[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

*Boston Septem*r 19 1763

REVd & DEAR SIR.

I recd yr favour of the 15. Inst & see by it That Mr Ashpo was returned from Jeningo: & with pleasure observe the promising prospects of the Indians there, being likely to become not only partakers of the Gospel Light but many of them living Epistles of it made by the finger of God. And when I hear of an Instance in this Land of a man of 80 years old converted by a sermon of Mr Flavels, 40 years after he heard it, I conceived fond hopes of future service even whose slighter impressions are at present made. Duty is ours, The Blessings of sovereign grace are with God. I hope the troubles will subside this fall & a way be prepared for Mr Ashpo's for the Essays. Please Sir to present my love to him.

Mr Peck has left your two letters with me to forward & has from me received minitts of the articles you direct wch I was without.

Mr Whitefield arrived at Urbania in Virginia, the 26th ult.o As this is 350 miles beyond Philadelphia & he is on his way Northward, perhaps You may see him in your parts by the last of this month.

I am most respectfully

*Your Humbl Serv*t

JOHN SMITH

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[1] *A merchant in Boston, and a contributor to the school. Wheelock corresponded with him from time to time. Smith was helpful to Whitaker and Occom during their visit to England and Scotland, and accompanied them on their fruitless trip to Ireland. (See pp. 73 ff. for his opinion of the school.)*

Samuel Ashpo to Eleazar Wheelock

Janingo Agust 22 AD 1766

REV.^{d} ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

j will inform you that j got well in to Janingo and j have Speak with the King, Concerning a bout the Minister and scool master. but He Seays. j Con not answer you now j am like a tenant unto unedogke King.[1] (but j will trye to get Leberty the next Council they have hear) and then j will Give you answer. This is all He said. .

and j Preached a bout 11 fournoon to small Number of Ind.^{s} j begun as it were with Fear and Trembling, feeling but little Power, but God greatly assisted me, few dry eyes seemed to be in the Assembly for a Considerable Time. j had an affecting Prosput of the glories of the upper World. and Was enable to speak of them feelingly to others. j believe many were filled as with new wine, it seemed as if time of Refreshing was Come from the Presenc of the Lord even   Come Lord Jesus Come quickly Amen and Amen

j am your Humble

Servant

SAM^{ll} ASHPO

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[1] *Meaning, probably, "the King of the Onondagas."*

◆

Suspension of Samuel Ashpo by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents,[1] July 1, 1767

This board having Received Information that Sam^{ll} Ashpo a Misionary from Us to the Indians at Jeningo has last Fall & Since been Guilty at Sev^{l} times of Drinking Strong Drink to Excess,

& of Quarrell^{g}, Indecent, unChristian behaviour, & is now Absent from home & Cant be had to give An Ac^{t} of those things or justify himself from these Scandalous Reports this board think it best & Expedient to Suspend the s^{d} Ashpo from Preaching or Officiating as our Missionary & so accordingly Suspend him till he have oportunity to justify himself & shall justify himself before this bard, & shall bring Christian Satisfaction for his Offences & such Evidence of his Repentance & Refrmation as shall be Satisfactory to this bard & they shall judge it Duty & Expedient to Renew his Mission.

On this the s^{d} Ashpo may have oportunity to be heard at our next meet.^{g} Mr. Jewett is desired to Publish this Suspension by Reading it in his Congregation and at his Indian Lecture, & to give Sam^{l} Ashpo a Copy of it

[1] *Formed July 4, 1764, to represent the* SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

Hezekiah Calvin, DELAWARE

THE FIRST COMMENT we have on Calvin is from *John Brainerd: "He is a Smart little Fellow, but will want taking care of. He loves to play, and will have his Hat in one Place & his Mittens in another." The last is from Wheelock: "I hear that poor Hezekiah Calvin has got into Prison at Littleease for forging a pass for a Negro, & that it is probable he will fare badly. I hope God will humble him & do him Good by it."*

He entered Moor's Charity School April 9, 1757, was approved as schoolmaster by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents March 12, 1765, and on June 25 of that year left for Fort Hunter, New York, to teach school among the Mohawks. By 1767 his health began to fail, and in the same year he misbehaved so much that Wheelock was about done with him. At this time Calvin was uncertain of his calling; he wrote Wheelock that he had planned to go to sea or to marry or to spend his life among the Indians. In this same year, too, (1767) he swore off liquor, but by Jan. 18, 1768, had fallen once more, and pleaded in his defence the violence and arbitrariness of what he called "our first motions." In 1769 Wheelock characterized him as a drunkard and apostate. It is not known what penalty he incurred for forging the pass.

Hezekiah Calvin

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon Feb:ry 19th 1766.

Worthy Sir

After my most humble Dutys to you expresed, these are to let you understand that I am in a great Par, I seem as if I wanted to go up among the Indians, & try to do them some good as far as it lays in Power, And I want to go home too to see my Freinds & relatives once more this Side Eternity (ie) if they are in the land of the Living, I think I shall never try to see that Country no more If I could but only See my Parents this time, And if I should go up among the Mohawks I shall feell quite uneasy untill I do go home, But I Leave the Matter with M.r Wheelock & so ask Leave to Subscribe myself,

Your Humble (?) Pupil

(Signature missing)

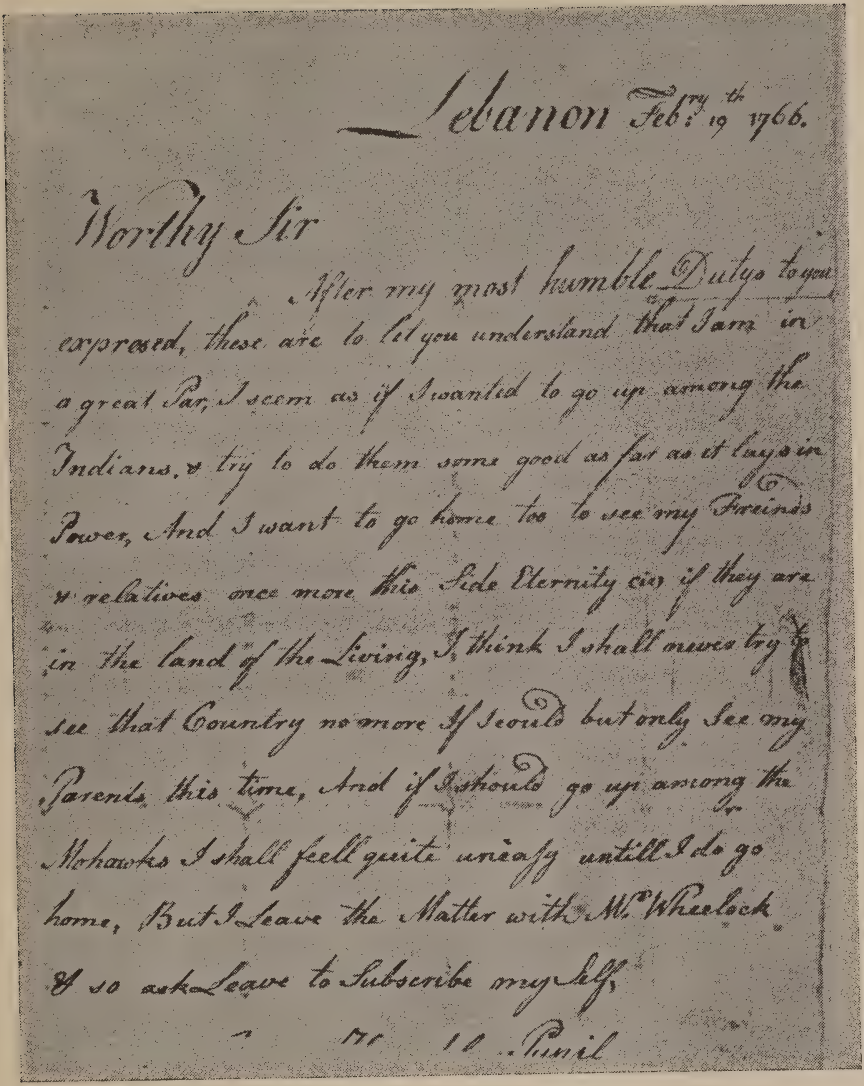
◆

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Fort Hunter August 11th *AD* 1766

Much Hon.d Sir,

With great Pleasure and satisfaction I take my Pen in Hand to try to write You a Letter, & thereby to inform you that we arrived at Butlersberry the 11th of July Well & safe, & Mr Pomroy & Sir[1] Wheelock arrived the 17.th Sir Wheelock went in the Castle to settle a school there, & the Indians Were very much Pleased with his Discourse, & liked very well to have a school there & they made fair Promises that they would send their Children every Day Steady; & so I entered the Castle 22d of July in order to open the School, & I told the Indians yt I should have been glad to open'd the school on the 23^d^, but the Indians were very loth to send their Children, for what reason I know not, I went to the Indians day after Day to get some of their Children to School, but all this signified nothing, the Indians would make excuses that they had work for them to do, so that they could not send them yet, but they would send them Tomorrow, & so on till the 30^th^ I told them I would leave 'em, that I could not stay with them Doing Nothing & on the Morrow they sent Five Children, & so on till M^r^ Wheelock came from the Upper Castle; And then I related him all what was done, He told the Indians y^t^ M^r^ Kinney[2] would Preach to them on Sunday following Two of the Clock in the afternoon, so the Indians gathered but they could get no Interpreter, for the Preacher, they got an Interpreter for Sir Wheelock to interpret what he had to say, & so he told them that it was Gods Day that he would have it kept for him &c. at last he told them that he had let them have the Benifit of a Schoolmaster to teach their Children & when he came in the Castle that he expected to find a Doz- or Forteen Children in the School all busy with their Books, but at his expectation, he found but Five Children which made his heart ake & the Indians so unwilling to send their Children "it seems that they wanted no Schooling, & then he asked "them what should he do, must he take away so great a Blessing "y^t^ was given them or no, but he would fain try them a little "longen he would let me stay with them till the fall & so he ended. "The Indians replyed y^t^ they would give and Answer Wednesday "following, and on Wednesday the Indians met they said they "thanked him for his good will in trying to do them a little good "but what can we do their are some that do not want schooling & "we are mixt some good & some bad they said they had been & "sought out as many as wanted to have a school & they said they "could send 15 Children to school the greatest part of the time & "if Sir Wheelock thought fit to take me away why they could not "help it there was as many as were at home, by and by the rest of "the Indians would come home & likely they would have a mind



Lebanon Feb.ry 19th 1766.

Worthy Sir

After my most humble Dutys to you expresed, these are to let you understand that I am in a great Par, I seem as if I wanted to go up among the Indians, & try to do them some good as far as it lays in Power, And I want to go home too to see my Freinds & relatives once more this Side Eternity ein if they are in the land of the Living, I think I shall never try to see that Country no more If I could but only See my Parents this time, And if I should go up among the Mohawks I shall feell quite uneasy untill I do go home, But I Leave the Matter with Mr. Wheelock & so ask Leave to Subscribe my Self,

Pupil

HEZEKIAH CALVIN TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK. Reduced from original in the possession of Dartmouth College. For text see page 49.

"to send their Children at School too, they say also that they are "going out to hunt & that they must needs take their Children "with them that they cant leave their Children alone &c &c

Sir if I have mist any thing or said any thing Wrong I hope your Son will bring it write I cant tell it no straiter. I have now Eighteen Schollars which come very Steady, but it his very hard to bring them too I do my best that I can & yet the Indians will complain that I am not severe enough will it do for me to be a thrashing them continually, how oft have I corrected them within a Week sometimes twice or thrice a Day I hate forever to be a whipping, whipping too much wont do. I told them if I was not severe enough they must in consequence get a Severer one but I hope Sir in time to bring them too by the help of God which I cannot do without, all these means wont do, they are Stubburn People sometimes I am ready to give out with these Indians & with the Pains I have, I have a hard head ache certain time in the afternoon which sonetimes is so hard that I hardly know what I am about &cc The Indians say that I shall not come home these three Years they think that I am their Servant & are obliged to keep schoo' for Yem & yet they wont send their Children It is true I should be glad to keep School here all my Days but all these things makes me faint hearted together my wanting to see my father Mother & relations

Oh! how glad should I be if I could do but a Little good among these Savages, but yet I think Indians will be Indians they will still follow their evill Practices. &c

But Sir I hope you wll overlook the many Blunders I have made in my haste & so remembring my Love to your Family & School

I remain Your Dutiful

Tho unworthy Servant

HEZ-CALVIN

P.S. Please Sir to send me up some Stokins by David Fowler if it pleases the & a pair of shoes &c. Yours Hez-Calvin August 11th

FOR THE REVEREND ELEAZER WHEELOCK

Wheelock wrote to Nathaniel Whitaker (Feb. 12, 1766): "You would be greatly pleased to see how much like a man, a "gentleman & christian this youth of less than 18 years old behaves "himself."

On October 27, 1766, Samuel Johnson, one of the missionaries, wrote to Wheelock from Fort Hunter: "I hear more of Calvin since his departure than is fit to mention now, but this I "may say that the Indians say he would not eat their Victtles and "that he would not say how do you do when he came in or "fare well when he went neither would he stur his Foot any "time."

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[1] *i.e., Ralph, Wheelock's eldest son. The title "Sir" indicates that the one so designated has either just qualified for the Bachelor's degree, or has lately received his degree. (For the former use see Stiles,* DIARY, II, *369, 527; for the latter use,* IDEM, *492.) Resident graduates also were called "Sirs" (Boynton, 30).*

[2] *Aaron Kinne, Yale, 1765, minister at Groton, Conn. Died 1824 (Allen,* BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY). *Wheelock sent him, July 7, 1766, as missionary to Old Oneida. His poor health forced him to give up his missionary work, seemingly a few months later. In 1768 he was again sent to the Six Nations.*

◆

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock.

Lebanon March 3d 1767

HONd SIR

Your goodness binds me to you in all thankfulness, but how shall I, or in what Language or words shall I express the sense of Gratitude due to your care & tenderness who have all along laid so many obligations on me, so many & in so high degree, that I may as well Number them, which is as impossible as to declare their greatness & worth, & yet after all these motives to good, sober, & Christian behavior, I should behave in this manner, it is enough to plunge M^{r} Wheelock into a great Greif, if an unfeigned Promise of a good behaviour would in any wise move you for a farther Trial & forgiveness of all my misconducts (I am sorry for my puting upon you by saying that I was a Devil after M^{r} Wheelock, which I knew not the meaning of at first) I would Most humbly beg it,—And if their is no prospect of my doing any good to y^{e} Design you have in view, doing good to my Poor Brethren, I desire to Leave this school & not tarry to bring reproach upon this design any more, I have brought too much already, this is

from thy unworthy & ungrateful Servant

HEZEKIAH CALVIN.

March 3.^{d}

◆

John Secuter[1] *to Eleazar Wheelock*

Charlestown y^{e} 31. *of March AD* 1767

REV.^{d} SIR

I gratefully acknowledge your token of love, and friendship, in the Christian education you have giv'n my Daughter, I esteem it Such a favour, as Justly Demands Gratitude in y^{e} deepest sense.—

I receiv'd a letter from M^{r} Calvin which contain'd the following words. "It may be no small thing that I have to acquant "you with, the design that lay, between your Daughter Moley, "and me, Pardon me if I blush to Name it, that is *Matrimony* but "I shall not attempt it without y^{r} Consent & approbation." This, Sir, I by no means Consent to, and shou'd be very glad if you wou'd use your reasonable powers to Dissuade my Daughter from such design.—Not that I have ever heard anything against the young man.

I am, Sr with great respect,
your most Obedient Humble Servt—

JOHN SECUTOR

P. S. The letter that Mr Calvin wrote to me, and one from my Daughter, was sent by the Hand of Sylvester Athony, who carried them to the Sachem Ninegretts and were open'd and kept there four week, before I heard of them. If Mr Calvin had Been acquainted with Sylvester, I Should have blam'd him for sending by him; but as he knew nothing of him I don't think much of it.—

Sr please to caution ym who yy—Send letters by for ye future.

from Sr yr Hume Servt

JOHN SECUTOR

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[1] *A Narraganset Indian. He refers to his daughter Mary. (See pp. 67, 235 ff.) The letter is in the handwriting of Edward Deake, schoolmaster at Charlestown, R. I., 1765-76 (Love, 195-196).*

◆

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon June 10th AD 1767

REVEREND SIR.

After my most Humble Dutys to you expressed, these few lines are to let you know that I am very uneasy tarrying here, many years are now already row'ld away since I have been here Learning, tho I might have said the time I might have got learning, but instead of geting Learning, I have foolishly spent my time to no purpose I have no peace of Conscience when I come to recollect back It seems to me to be in vain to tarry here any longer, there is great many things I might relate but my Conscience forbids—

As to my health I cant say but I feel very poorly Pain in my Breast & very weak. I think I shall not live very long, & sometimes Dilirious &c

Sir I remain

Your undutiful Pupil

Hezekiah Calvin

◆

Eleazar Wheelock to John Brainerd

Lebanon July 8th 1767

Rev.d and Dear Sir

Yours of June 11th came safe last Week—The shocking Carelessness of Postmaster & Letter Carriers is worthy a publick Censure; every Opportunity which I embraced to get a Letter to you appear'd so direct and favourable that I could not doubt of a very speedy Conveyance—however the Hand of the great Governor of all things is in it, and the disappointment was not without design—I have seen & discoursed with Mr Sprout, his Affairs will not allow you to join him in the Tour proposed; I have had discourse with Mr Barroughs of Killingly who is about to leave his people for want of Support, and I think would be a very agreeable companion for you: but he is not yet discharged from his People; and his wife and Father in Law very much oppose the motion—Sir Bacon has been, and is now (so far as I know) keeping School below Philadelphia; is a good Scholar, and of a good Reputation, as to Religion—I have heard that he designs to preach soon, and that he has shewn some Inclination to accept a mission; but this was some Time ago—I desired M^r^ Thompson the Tutor last fall to engage him for me, but have heard nothing since. And as things now are it seems to be the pleasure of heaven that the Tour should be saspended till next Spring—and if you will be looking out for a Companion who will be agreeable to you; I will also be doing the same; and advise each other of our Success as soon as may be, and if we have anything important constantly send duplicates. If you send by the Hartford Post it will be best to direct it to the Care of the Rev.^{d} W^{m} Patten; who has lately accepted the Call of the south *Chch* to be Colleague with M^{r} Whitman. he is my son in law & will be faithful—If any thing should prevent his Installment, you will likely hear of it—or if you should cover & direct mine to him, it might be more certain, as Hartford posts are very friendly to him

I cant but hope Hezekiah would do well under the Care of the Miss^{ys}—he knows he is upon his last Legs. And I believe has a mind to marry one of my female Scholars, who is well accomplished and very likely; but will not have him, unless he will git into or have a prospect of some Business for his Support, suitable to his Education—

I have thought of sending my Son to S^{r} W^{m} Johnson; and will use my Endeavor that you have the Benefit of his Countenance & Approbation—

If Hezekiah will not do, I can send another, a mohowk who is very likely—but Hezekiah must do or I have done with him.—

What if you should give us a visit this Fall? I am in a poor State of Health, and now confined by Lameness occasioned by a Fall last week. Accept Love in Abundance to you & your dear spouse from

My dear Sir

Yours in the dearest Bonds

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

P. S. The Children from your Quarter in my school are well—I hope I shall make something of Miriam—I have a Number of very likely Youth in the School—I hear that God smiles on the Endeavours of Mess^rs^ Whitaker & Occom—

If the Bearer shall pass your Road, he will call, and let you know his Affairs, and bespeak your Friendship, to whom any Kindnesses done by you will be esteem'd as done to

Yr

Brother

E WHEELOCK—

REV^d^ M^r^ JOHN BRAINARD

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon August 14 *AD* 1767

REVEREND SIR.

With sincerity of Heart I would tempt to write out now my Mind.—My Cogitations have been these,—

1.^st^ M^r^ Wheelock had made the proposition to me about my going Home, My Mind was eased, in thinking that if I returned Home and liked the school, I should tarry with it if I could support myself that way, without an Companion: & if I did not like the School or could not have maintain'd myself that way, I concluded in my Mind to go to Sea & follow them. And yet at the same time never to return here again

2.^dly^ I thought of Marrying at home & so follow farming Busyness, to maintain me and my Companion, &c

3.^dly^ And again the state and condition of my Friends & fellow Brethren would be hovering in my Mind daily, so that I was almost ready to conclude to spend my life amongst them any where, if it were among the very wildest of them if I could but have it in my Mind that I should be likely of doing them any good. And so I left these thoughts in a Par leaving them to be concluded when I got home &c

As Mr Wheelock has made another proposition, I know not what to say, it is true that we have concluded to join. And my affections are so great for her, I should be very loth to leave her. Yet if Mr Wheelock has a mind yt we should part I can leave her if you will let me go home & never to return again, but conclude to one of the two of my first thoughts. I leave the affair wholly with you to conclude; for thou canst advise as a father, &c

And as for the thoughts of my going home I greatly have a fond for, that I might learn somwhat of my own Native Language, that I might be the better fitted for the Design you have in view, that I might be able to carry on a free discourse with the Indians if no more, And not be as A dumb stump that has no tonnge to use, like as when I was among the Mohawk Indians how tiresome was my life; could'nt understand ym and no body to keep up a free discourse with.—this is what lays in my Mind.

But however sometimes I mourn & grieve for my breaking Friendship with the Mohawks.—I should be very glad it seems to me to see my Brethren become christians & live like Christians.

My Mind is full. I cant express myself

And thus I End Subscribing myself to be your

Dutiful Pupil

Hezekiah Calvin

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

*Lebanon, Octo*r 12th 1767

Revd Sir,

Once more I would attempt to intreat upon thy Goodness, to ask a favour from thee, and that is wheather Dr Wheelock intends to send for Aaron Occom? if not I must go & get my watch for he has got it, I do not Love to lose it So. moreover I want to go away from this school, I do not like to tarry here, I shall never or I have not the Heart to do any good amongst the Heathen I am uneasy, & it seems to me if Dr Wheelock does not give me leave to go, I must go without leave but I had rather go with a Dismission, not without Liberty, but I am uneasy enough to do either of them, I should rather talk with Docr Wheelock first upon few things. I am uneasy, Sir I shal turn out as Jacob Wolley did if I tarry much longer, so I should rather go before the Docr sees that time so I end Your

Undutiful Pupil

Hezekiah Calvin

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Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon Nov: AD 1767

Reverend Sir

With humble Submission I would ask this one favour of the Doctor (ie.) wether I might go to Mohegan to keep Thanksgiving, if it is any ways consistant with thine affairs, & if it is, I should be glad Sir of thy approbation, But I should rather go farther.

because I have received a Letter, in which I was desired to go down their & pay a short visit to them, but I leave all to the Doctor for to Direct in this affair.

SIR

I am thine
unworthy Servant

HEZEKIAH CALVIN

◆

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

December 26th 1767

HONORED SIR

With shamefacedness & humbleness of Heart I write you these Lines, owning & Confessing my heinous Crimes

the last evening being the 25th of X^{ber} I Confess I was Drunk: Swearing & Curseing followed, which I knew not of only as I was infor'd so this Morning, & am Sorry for it—I hear that they say I make mock at your Night Discourses; which I think is false, But being guilty of so many Crimes I Dare not ask for forgiveness. But I promise never to Drink Liquor again & Promise to Attend my Life & Conduct for the future God assisting me I am willing to Suffer any thing that might make my Schoolmates know the wickedness of geting Drunk or that they might not take that example of me.

SIR *I am thy Disobedient*
& undutiful Servant

HEZEKIAH CALVIN

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Mohegan Jan. 29 1768

HONOURED SIR,

The spirit of Gratitude lays me under an indispensible Duty of thanking you for all the Care and Pains you have taken in my Education.

Tis true I have been Guilty of Drunkeness, but be assured the misfortune which occasioned me to Depart so, was my being in Liquor, or I never would have done it. I came to myself when or after I had got to Lebanon Plains. And after I found myself I was so ashamed of myself that I did not want to show myself in the School no more, But designed fully in my Mind to follow the Seas or go home. But I concluded to follow the Seas, I went to seabrook & their I found my me a sloop going to Virginia & intended to gone of with her, but as I was considering what I had been about, their came in my Mind somthing as if I could not go, before I had given thanks to the Doctor for my Education & then Leave to Depart from his School & presence,—And then after this I concluded to come Back & see M^r^ Wheelock before I could go with clear Conscience &c Tis true I have been Guilty of Drunkenness now twice & of going away without Leave Numberless & it is with Shame I put pen to paper, after having so notoriously abused your goodness & have brought a scandalous reproach upon the School by being Scandalously drawn aside with Liquor, thus to abuse thee, & thy school, for which I heartily beg Pardon, Promising double diligence in watching against any such evil Practices for the future But having promised so many times, I would not, that you should any longer be deceived—I am now returning from my evil ways, to come home, & lay myself on my bended knees at thy feet, that I may wholly submit myself to the resentment of a Master unjustly abused. If the acknowledging my Crime can have any influence on your Goodness, I am sure of success, I have incurrd your displeasure by my ill Deeds on the Eighteen Day of January in the year of our Lord 1768. A Weakness in me that is always attended with a hearty contrition & therefore ashamed of that action I leave the Judgment of my weakness to you all who are present & am willing to suffer the Judgment that you will pass upon me, having wholly condemned myself already worthy of great punishment & then to be turned away from the school with all the disgraces that can be. You know that our first motions are so arbitrary in their Violence, that in spite of reason they will undergo no Law but their own, therefore I beg you would consider that in the faults I have committed, there was more contributed by Nature, than my own free will But as all Mankind are subject to failings, & none perfect, I am consequently liable to step aside in Liquor & commit Errors. tis therefore I am heartily Sorrow for being thus drawn aside from my reasons, but laying myself low at the feet of a just Displeased Superior imploreing thy Compassion & acknowledging my fault with Contrition subscribe myself *thine unworthy Servant*

HEZ. CALVIN

◆

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon March AD. 1768

REVEND DOC^r^

These lines I write in order to inform you under my undsteadyness of Mind, what it is, that so much besets me in those most horrid crimes of lately, is (1^st^) because I have thought myself past hopes of forgiveness from God, & that I could not make myself any better after it. & that my Days were but few, & that those few I intended to spend to serve Satan; & to take what pleasure I could here on Earth, while I tarryed here in the World, such were my wicked thoughts. 2^dly^. My Mind has been uneasy, but being some bashful I had it not in my heart to tell, but thought in myself to break a way privately, & yet I cant tell now without blushing, but thinking it my Duty, it constrains me to break forth in this manner, Wretched now that I am, that ever I thought of a Conjugal state when I was, & am yet Young for that State which has Continually been in my Breast since the Doc^r encouraged me in it, (I do'nt mean to reflect on the Doc^r) but on myself, being so foolish as to entertain such a thought in my Breast, then being so young. I must own that, that it was a Strong Motive in my misbehaving at Fort Hunter among the Mohawks; nothing was in my thoughts but being Mar-d, & my thoughts being captivated with this, has been a strong Motive to get me into intemperace, thinking I should be turned away from the School, & so it was from one Crime to another hoping the same, but what a sordid thoughts are these attempting such an Action as this without the Doc^r knowledge &c There is somthing that makes me want to go home, what, I cant tell, Home is in my Mind all the time I want to go Home soon & see my Relations, & it seems to me to Tarry home a while or all the Time, & let me see if that I am able to support myself. I have tarryed upon Charity long enough, when I have had no more Gratitude to my Benefactors than I have had done, but all prove to the Contrary, instead of being grateful, I am as ungrateful as a Beast, which lays near to my Mind I had rather go home & be turn'd out of the School which I have thought has been my Portion for some time I am uneasy while I am here & think upon home, if the Doc^r is pleased to give me liberty to I will go, but with much shame & Contempt of myself, &c

I remain your Undutiful
& Ungrateful Servant
H CALVIN

FOR THE REVEREND
MR ELEAZER WHEELOCK D.D.
Lebanon

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon May 5th 1768

HONORED DOCTOR,

I take this opportunity to write a few lines unto you, and thereby to inform you of my discontentment, I want to go Home if I can obtain thy approbation I have no ease of Mind, I am daily thinking that I do not care how soon I go out of the world, prepared, or not, & it seems as if I did not Care how bad I be, if it would but make my Time shorter, My mind is full of such bad thoughts, so that I cant relate all my bad thoughts, & when my thoughts are off this my Mind is Home continually laying out work for me to do somtimes Clearing, & sometimes Blacksmithing & so on

But I beleive I should soon be tired of Home & yet my Mind is all the while Cleaving to go home, & somtimes it excite a motion in my Breast to to go without leting the Doctor know of my Intentions, when I am alone I am almost crazy I will catch my hair & pull & Cry, for to go Home, Mr Anderson is left off working for M^{r} Huntington so that I shant be able to go thro my Trade &c And there is one thing more I would be glad to inform the Doctor but I affraid or at least I am basfush therefore I must let it be, but hopeing the Docter will give me Leave to go home I subscribe myself

SIR *Your unworthy Servant*

HEZEKIAH CALVIN

Lebanon
May 5th 1768
FOR THE REVEREND DOCTER E WHEELOCK

Edward Deake to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown yᵉ 21. of June A D. 1768

DEAR Sʳ.

I now acquaint you that Hezekiah Calvin has been some time among yᵉ Indians in this place, and does not Design to return to you any more, but is going to Newport to get a Passage to Philadelphia. Has also, given yᵉ School a bad Charracter. that you use yᵉ Indians very hard in keeping of them to work, & not allowing them a proper Privelidge in yᵉ School,—that you have took from him his Silver Watch. & Shoe-buckels with other things which his Father gave him,—that there is large quantity's of Rice, Coffe, Flower & Sugars sent from yᵉ corporation in Scotland to support yᵉ Indians in your School, which you Sell, together with yᵉ Cloth's which are sent, & Diot, & Cloath them with that that's mean.— That yᵉ best Cloth's he has his Father gave him.—That Mary Secutor, & Sarah Simon has been kept as close to work, as if they were your Slaves, & have had no privelidge in yᵉ School Since last Fall, nor one Copper allow'd yᵐ for their Labour. That Mary ask'd for a small peice of Cloth to make a pʳ of Slippers, which you would not allow her,—twas to good for Indians &c—That Jeams Simon is to be Bound to a Farmer.—That you wont give no more of yᵉ Indians more learning than to Read, & Write—'twill make them Impudent; for which they are all about to leave you. So yᵗ yᵉ Indians are ready to conclude, that their Fellow-Indians will never receive any great Benefit of yᵉ Large sums of Money contributed by good People, to promote so good a Caise.

From, s.ʳ your Hum.ˡ Serv.ᵗ

EDWᵈ DEAKE

P.S. The above has not enter'd my Heart as Truth.

I write in hast, Hope you'll excuse me.

E. DEAKE

Edward Deake to Eleazar Wheelock

Hopkinton y^e 18th of *August* AD 1768

VERY DEAR SR:

As this is ye first opportunity of Conveyance since Sr. Wheelock, & mr. Woodward was at my House. Wood now Acquaint you that Hezekiah Calvin returnd to Secutors ye Same day in ye Evening after Sr Wheelock went from my House; and as I've been inform'd Told Secutor's Family that all he had told them concerning yr Self, & ye School, was true, but dare not stand in it before Sr Wheelock, & Mr Woodward thro' fear of being cruelly dealt with—this discover'd his Wickedness, and Ingratitude so clear, that ye Indians in general wou'd pay no reguard to any thing he said.—after a few days he went to Newport to get a Passage to Philadelphia, and I've not hearn anything of him Since.

I am, fr. with great respect, Your most obedient Huml. Servant

EDWD DEAKE

Sr I hope You'll excuse me, I've wrote in a hurry.

◆

Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon AD 1768

I was guilty of being at Mr Clarks at a sort of Chorus, the Devil is always tempting me to some mischeif, & It seems to me that I am as ready to comply as he is to tempt, it seems to me as if I was willing to go to hell sooner or later, I beleive it is best for me to be turnd out of the School, for I shall never be good for any thing, let me go home & Labour for my Living & not to stay & live upon Christ here to no purpose but to serve the Devil I should be glad to be a helper in the Cause, but I am so hardened in Sin, I dont think that ever I shall be any better, but only to be an disgrace to the School & the Dr & to the kind benefactors of it

& I am thy unworthy
& ungrateful servant

HEZEKIAH CALVIN

◆

Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock

Charleston November 16th 1768

REVD & HON-NED SIR

I am in a Stand what to do about my Promes I have made to H. Calvin I think it best not to Marry him I think he has no regards for me more than he has any giral. So I entend to live Single. I have had more regards for Calvin that ever I had for anny Indian in my life I have minded him far enough I think. (tho I have the same love as ever I had) not to Cuple before he has. As far Mar-ge we agreed nothing to part us but death. now I know not what to do if we Should have one another he will always think that I like hem not, so I will say nothing to him untill I hear from your Sir I hope ye will tell me what is my duty to do & I will do it. my Parents are a mind I should have Calvin I love him well enough but what to do I know not but I hope I Shall be Derected to do what is rite.

So Remain your Obedient Servnt

MARY SECUTER

THE REVENT DOCTOR WHEELOCK
att Lebanon.

From Nathan Clap[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon, June 28d 1768.

REVEREND & WORTHY DOCTOR

I do take this opportunity with a great deal of humility acknowledgeing my self not wothy of the least favour from your honour who has been so kind to my poor despiesed brethren & in perticuler to wards me—but as I am made to see the power and dominion of sin and what a weak and frail thing man is when left to him Self—I must confess with shame that I have sinned I have done foollishly and am not worthy to be reconed into your famile or to be treated as such—I hope I have heard the voice of Christ in sum meashure calling upon me as he did unto the unconverted peter—Saton hath desird to have you that he might sift you as wheat but I have prayed for you that your faith fail not, and when you are converted strenken your brethern—I desire your prayers for me that I might reform to Live soverly & be more watchfull and prayerfull against the delusions of my sinful Lusts and that of may become a true pennatatient—I humbly Disire the Docters forgivness and I do promas by the grace of god assesting of me to repent and to reform to live to the praise of his glory—I desire to submit and yeld my self into the hands of the sovren will of god, and as I am brought to see what the powers of Love will do, I do com at Lest I Desire to com humbl and ask one pettion of your honour beging your kind & honourable compassions upon me—but how to ask you I no not o pray sir, forgive my egnorance and stupedy and Pray Sir pleas to grant that Ms Mary your maide might be given to me to wife—or vanish me away from the School. I never thought she would previled with me so much as to get my heart,—but I hop it is all ordered by gods holy providence to keep me humbl and as she has been exorting of me about the things that narly consern my soul, I am filled with wonder and amaisment to hear that I hop god put into her heart to Speak unto me to awaken my Poor sinsick Soul—nevertheless I Desire to submit and yeald my Self under your honourable fatherly correctsian if it is to vanish me from the School I will go away and acknoledge it is no more than what I deserve my hearts Desire and Prayer to god is that all things might be orderd for the Prayes of his own Glory—I am greved to think that I have greved and disonered you so much pray sir pleas to forgive me—tho I shall never for give my self I want to say and writ a great Deal but I must brak of hear beging that god would direct your way before you and order what cornsirns me in great mercy your afectonate puple and very

(The manuscript is incomplete.)

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[1] *Clap was a "Cape Cod Indian." In 1767 or 1768 Wheelock sent him with Joseph Johnson "to labour for Mr. Kirtland, or keep School and learn the Language of that Tribe"* (NARRATIVE V, *45). He misbehaved, as we learn from Samuel Kirkland's letter to Wheelock (pp. 140-141).*

◆

Eleazar Wheelock to Andrew Gifford[1]

(NEWS OF THE SCHOOL)

Lebanon in Connecticut Feb^{y} 24. 1763.

REV^{d} SIR.

YOU have herewith inclosed a short Narrative of this Indian School; which I hope may give you and others Some Satisfaction, as you will, I trust, See some evident Marks and Signatures of a divine Hand in the Progress of it from Such small Beginings to such an height amidst and against so many and great Discouragements as I have had to encounter since I entred upon it. But the Smiles of Heaven have been very singular & more encouraging of late than ever. I have all along had the Satisfaction of finding the good Effects of Government to Subdue their Savage Temper, and reform their vitious Practices, but of late a much greater

Satisfaction in seeing evident Appearances of a Spirit of Conviction in most of them, and of late comfortable Evidence of a Saving Work in Several Instances.

I must say however liable I am to be suspected of Partiality I never before Saw Such a School in my Life, in which Such a number of Youth were So orderly, Sober, Studious, governable, peaceble, & religious. There is even seldom Occasion for a Frown, but they are often in Tears upon hearing the things which do most nearly concern them. A young Mohawk,[2] of a Family of Distinction in that Nation (his English name is Joseph) of a Sprightly Genius, a manly and genteel Deportment, and of a Modest courteous and benevolent Temper, I have Reason to think began truly to love our Lord Jesus Christ Several Months ago; and his religious Affections Seem Still agreably increasing.

And a few weeks ago, I have Reason to hope that Joseph Woolley one of the Delaware Tribe was savingly converted after a Series of Spiritual Troubles under a legal or preparitory Work. And a Girl of the same Tribe whom Mr. Brainerd Sent me to be Educated being one he looked upon a real christian, has of late had such Discoveries of the Truth, Reality, and Greatness of things reveald, as were more than Nature could sustain; she fainted under them, and has Sometimes seem'd almost to forget that she was a Tenant of the lower World, and at the Same Time appeared intirely free from ostentation or any degree of Enthusiastic Wildness.

And I have the Pleasure to tell you that nine of my Charity Scholars and six of them Indians, are in a Judgment of rational Charity, real Christians. And I have Reason to think that among the whole 25. there is not one Secure or prayerless. And you may judge, Sir, whether my Task is a Burthen to me.

Dear M^r Smith[3] of whom I wrote M^r De Berdt[4] Some Months ago, has now kept this School Several Months gratis, and lately resigned it in order to prepare for a Mission among the Indians as Soon as the Spring is So advanced, as to render his Journey tolerable; and designs to take Joseph, the Mohawk, before mentioned for his Interpreter. We also design to Send friend *Ashpo* (of whom I also wrote M^r^ De Berdt) to Jeningo, on Sesquaanna River this Spring, and from thence hundreds of Miles Still Westward to large Tribes and Nations of them among whom Christ has not yet been Named, to carry the glad Tidings of Salvation to them; and if possible, to obtain of their Children for this school.

I have Sent M^r^ De Berdt a Proposal for the more effectually pursuing the great Design, and have desired him to shew it to you, and I wish you may be Instrumental in the Hand of God to Accomplish it.

I hope the Hearts and Hands of Gods people will yet be open to Supply the increasing Necessities of this Undertaking. It has hitherto been Supported by, and still depends, under God, only upon Supplies ministered by Such who are under no other Bonds, than their Love to Christ, and Charity to the Souls of men.

I hope you have received my Letter of Thanks to you & your good People for your & their Liberality which I received by M^r^ Smith. by him I had also a Hint of Some charitable Designs, that were forming in Favour of this school, and particularly of Some Tho'ts of collecting a Library for it; which is indeed much wanted. If God Should put it into the Hearts of any to accomplish it; I hope they will also think of the Usefulness, and Necessity of a pair of Globes, and a good Set of Mapps.

Would M^r^ Pitt, whose Benevolence to Mankind has made him the Darling of America, think it below him to appear in and patronize the Proposal before mentioned? There is the greatest Probability, if his Majesty Should make such a Grant of Lands, as is proposed, and which would be Such a testimony of his Disinterested Care for, and good will to the Indians, that they would universally approve of, and be well pleased with it. But I desire to leave it with the great Governour of the Universe, whose Ways & Tho'ts are not as ours, and wait upon him to accomplish in his own way & Time, that which is for the Glory of his own great Name.

Please to remember me in your Nearest approaches to God, who with the most Sincere Duty and Respect begs Leave to Subscribe, Rev^d Sir.

Your obliged, and very Humble Servant
and Fellow Labourer in the Lords Vineyard.

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

REV.^{d} A. GIFFORD, S.L.D.

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[1] *Rev. Andrew Gifford, London. He sent the school "a neat Pair of Globes, and a valuable Collection of Books," June, 1764 (*NARRATIVE II, *7).*

[2] *Joseph Brant, brother of Sir William Johnson's Molly. Wheelock states (*NARRATIVE I, *40) that Brant entered the school August 1, 1761. Stone (*I, *21) believes that Wheelock erred in giving this date, and prefers 1759. Wheelock's account is so circumstantial that I incline to accept his dating. He remained with Wheelock until July, 1763 (Chase, 21), and on his return to the Mohawk country acted on different occasions as interpreter for Wheelock's missionaries.*

*Of the Indians who attended the school, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) became the most famous. He was born, according to Stone, in 1742 "on the banks of the Ohio." After his two years of schooling at Lebanon, he returned to Canajoharie. During the Revolution he became the principal war-chief of the Six Nations, siding, of course, with the British. Wheelock, it is said, tried to induce him to side with the Colonies. Brant, in reply, stated that he could never forget the many happy hours spent with Wheelock, or the prayers which he had heard while at the school. One passage in particular, he said, had impressed him: "that they might be able to live as good subjects—to fear God, and honor the King." As leader of the Iroquois he laid waste Cherry Valley, although, according to Stone, he was instrumental in lessening much of the brutality of the savages. As an advocate of the Indians he visited England in 1775. According to Pottle (225), Boswell wrote an account of his visit (*LONDON MAGAZINE, XLV, *July, 1776). In 1785 he visited England for the second time.*

He aided in translating the Gospel of Mark, certain prayers, and psalms, for a copy of which the President and Fellows of Harvard gave him thanks, June 5, 1789. After the war he settled in Canada and became the leader of the Iroquois in peace as he had been in war. In 1800 he sent his sons Joseph and Jacob to Moor's Charity School (at that time under the direction of Wheelock's son, John). He died Nov. 24, 1807, aged sixty-four years and eight months (Stone, passim).

[3] *Charles Jeffrey Smith, the only one of Wheelock's staff with an independent income. He was graduated from Yale in 1757, devoted himself to missionary work, taught for three months, gratis, at Moor's Charity School, and visited the Six Nations (1763) in company with Joseph Brant. He labored also among the negroes of Virginia. In 1770 he was found dead (while visiting on Long Island), and was variously reported*

as having shot himself accidentally while hunting, or as having committed suicide, or as having been murdered by a negro. His estate was estimated variously as worth three to eight thousand pounds.

[4] *Dennys De Berdt, devout Dissenter, and friend to the school. Wheelock was introduced to him by Whitefield. De Berdt was born about 1694. From November, 1765, until his death in April, 1770, he was the agent in London of the Massachusetts House of Representatives* (LETTERS OF DENNYS DE BERDT).

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John Smith's Letter to a Friend

(HOW THE SCHOOL APPEARED TO A BOSTON MERCHANT)

Boston May 18 1764

SIR

In rideing last week to new London I turned some miles out of my way to see Mr Wheelocks Indian School; nor do I repent my Trouble I had heard in general that it consisted of Twenty or more Indian Boys & Girls of the Mohawks & other Tribes of Indians And that a number of the Ministers of that Province had spoken well of M^r^ Wheelock & of this undertaking of his, But this I thought was seeing with the Eyes of others & therefore Chose to use my own.

My first observation in travelling through the Towns was the Different acceptation of both M^r^ Wheelock & his Enterprize there, from what some in Boston had entertained.

Here because of his lively adhering to the Doctrines of Grace he was not accepted by *some;* & when this is the Case you are sensible both Enterprize & Executior of it are too apt to be viewed by an Eye of Surmize & sometimes of Carping: But in Connecticut I found Charity & Candor & every where in passing M^r^ Wheelock had the Reverence of a Man of God, & his School was had in high Esteem.

I reached his House a little before the Evening Sacrafice & was movingly Touched on giveing out the Psalm to hear an

Indian Youth set the Time & the others following him, & singing the Tenor, & Base, with remarkable Gravity & Seirousness, & tho' M^r Wheelock, The Schoolmaster & a minister from our Province (called as I was by Curiosity) joined in Praise; yet they unmoved seemed to have nothing to do but to sing to the Glory of God.

I omit M^r Wheelocks Prayer & pass to the Indians in the morning when on Ringing the School house Bell they Assemble at M^r Wheelocks House about 5 oClock with their Master; who named the Chapter in Course for the Day & called upon the near Indian who read 3 or 4 Verses till the Master said *Proximus,* & then the next Indian read some Verses & so on till all the Indians had read the whole chapter. After this M^r Wheelock Prayes And then they each Indian perse a Verse or two of the Chapter they had read. After this they entered Successively on Prosodia & then on Disputations on some Questions propounded by themselves in some of the Arts & Sciences. And it is really charming to see Indian Youths of Different Tribes & Languages in pure English reading the Word of God & speaking with Exactness & accuracy on points (either chosen by themselves or given out to them) in the Severall arts & Sciences, And especially to see this done with at Least a seeming Mixture of Obedience to God; a fillial Love & Reverence to M^r Wheelock, & yet with great Ambittion to Excell each other And indeed in this Morning Exercies I saw a Youth Degraded one lower in the Class who before the Exercises were finished not only recovered his own place but was advanced two Higher.

I learnt hear that my surprize was common to ministers & other persons of Litterature who before me had been to visit this School or rather Colledge for I doubt whither in Colledges in General a better Education is to be expected & in mentioning this to a Gentleman in this Town who had visited this Seminary, He acquainted me that he intended at his own Charge to send his Son to obtain his Education in Mixture with these Indians. There were 4 or 5 of these Indians from 21 to 24 years of age who did not mix with the youth in these Exercies—These I learnt were Perfected in their Literature & stand ready to be sent among the Indians to keep Scools & occasionally to preach as doors open.

On my return Mr Wheelock accompanied me a few Miles & on passing by one House he said here lives one of my Indian Girls who was I hope Converted last week; & calling to the Farmer he unperceiv'd to her brought the Young Girl into our Sight & the pleasure was exquisite to see the Savageness of an Indian moulded into the Sweetness of a follower of the Lamb.

In passing some Days after this through the Mohegan Country I saw an Indian Man on Horseback whom I challenged as Mr *Occum*[1] & found it so. There was something in his mein & Deportment both amiable & venerable & though I had never before seen him I must have been sure it was he.—He certainly does Honour to Mr Wheelocks indefatigable, judicious, pious Intentions to send the Gospel among the Indians. I heard Mr Ashpo was then among them but at a Distance & I being hurried & tired Lost the opportunity of seing Mr Wheelock in him & more especially of seeing Christs Image in this Tawney Man but I wont tire you

& am yr most

Huml Servt

JOHN SMITH

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[1] *Samson Occom, Mohegan (1723-92). He was taught by Wheelock (1743-48) before Moor's Charity School was organized. Occom was the most important non-combatant Indian of the eighteenth century in New England. He became a missionary to the Oneidas, was partner with Nathaniel Whitaker in raising some twelve thousand pounds in England and Scotland for the school, preached as an itinerant in New England, and was a leader in the emigration of the New England Indians to Brothertown, New York.*

David Macclure[1] *to Eleazar Wheelock*

(CONCERNING A SCHOOL FIGHT)

Lebanon Sep. 25th 1765.

REVd *&* MUCH HONOURd SIR

Permit me humbly at your feet, to take the freedom of troubling you with a Letter from your ever dutifull Servant.

On the one hand, never with more regret did I take pen in hand. & set down to write to a gentleman of your exalted Station than at present I am obliged to do. But on the other hand I am elivated with the Assurance, that, the reigns of Goverment are in his hands who (under God) is both able & ready to exercise that disipline over his houshold, as is necessary to preserve Peice & good order. this Consideration is that, which banishes all fear, & helps forward my trembling Pen.

What I would be permission lay before you, is the disorder & misconduct of some of the Indian Boys, in your absence to Norwich.—which I shall endevour to describe.

On Tuesday last, Sun about two hours high, Johnson,[2] & John Wheelock,[3] were standing near the woodpile, great William[4] by the gait, William & John Wheelock were chatting togeather calling one a nother Names. at last John challanges William to fite Johnson, calling him spekkle face white Eye &c which Johnson repeated. William being run upon by Johnson's threats, advances up to Johnson & offers to fite him. whereupon they both strip of their waistcoats, & prepair for an incounter, and in the mean time the most of the School Boys were greather'd around, Johnson call'd William *Son of a Bitch,* and I think, *Indian Devil,* at last they came to blows, immeadetly I stept between to part them & advised them to desist, but I was soon push'd of by them, I being apprehensive of the event while several people of the Parish pased by and saw them in such a Condition. but still they continued domineari ng over each other till Sun down, when they went in the house & put on their waistcoats, but they were not cool'd they went at it again with more fury, tore each other's shirts of their backs. finally, one Nation seem'd to be at variance with each other. Uncas was inraiged among the rest, put on his new Coat & I heard threatned to go home, (for what reason I know not) Uncas, David & Little William came out to the Cyder Mill. Uncas told me that David threatned to kill him Little William said that David Would fight with him in the house, and they begun to go at it in Cyder Mill, and would have gone had I not parted them, & told them that M^r^ Wheelock would have no fighters in his School, & that if they did not Behave better they must go home to their own Country, & that they must be whipt when M^r^ Wheelock comes home &c. Next morning they seem'd beetter composed. But I must desist (fearing I Have already worn out your patiance, and almost distracted your Mind with my Story) humbly beging the boldness to indite myself,

Your ever Dutifull &
Obeidant Servant,
Promoter, of Peice Tranquility & Good order.
ANIMUS QUIETUS. D.M.C.
The high Study Sept^r^ 25

P.S. Please Sir, not to expose me, William & Johnson & all of them seem'd to be better agreed, and I believe are sorrey for their Conduct. [*but I believe the Devil was in them all last Tuesday Night*].[5]

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[1] *David Macclure (1748-1820). After attending Master Lowell's School in Boston, he entered Wheelock's school, June 8, 1764. In 1769 he was graduated from Yale, and subsequently taught for Wheelock at Lebanon, Conn., and at Hanover, N. H. He was ordained May 20, 1772, and with Levi Frisbie set out on a mission to the Delawares near Pittsburgh, Pa. The Indians rejected his offer of a ministry and sent him back "with love to his master." He returned to Wheelock after an absence of sixteen months. In 1776 he was installed pastor at North Hampton, N. H., and in 1777 was*

elected a trustee of Dartmouth College. (Sprague wrongly states 1778.) In 1785 he resigned from the pastorate of North Hampton, and in the next year was installed at East (now South) Windsor, Conn. By 1798 his voice began to fail, and finally he was obliged to resign. He died at East Windsor, June 25, 1820.

He married (1) Hannah, daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy (1780); (2) Mrs. Betsey Martin of Providence, R. I., (1816). In 1811 (with Elijah Parish) he published MEMOIRS OF THE REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK. *He was Wheelock's favorite student.*

In 1775 he wrote Wheelock that henceforth he would spell his name "Macclure," and I have adopted that spelling, although on the title page of the Memoirs his name reads "M'Clure" (Sprague, ANNALS, *and* WHEELOCK LETTERS).

[2] *Probably Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan.*

[3] *Wheelock's son, and in (1779) successor as president of Dartmouth College.*

[4] *A Mohawk, perhaps a natural son of Sir William Johnson.*

[5] *The words in brackets are crossed out.*

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Miss Elizabeth Huntington to Eleazar Wheelock

SIR

I am informed by Sister Bingham that M^r^ Wheelock intends to hire a Taloriss for 3 months: also that you desire me to undertake to do the work and to Instruct some Girls which I shall willingly do so far as i Can be servisable to them. I find no fault with the preposels made except with begening so soon which i Cant do. the 17th of March is as soon as i Can think of. then Sir I shall indeavour to be at your Service. pleas to let me know by the Bearer if the time which i prepose will be agreable. I am Sir yours in all proper Respects

ELIZ HUNTINGTON

Windham February y^e^ 21st 1766

Isaac Dakayenensere[1] *and Adam Waonwanoron to Eleazar Wheelock*

(CONCERNING THE SENDING OF MISSIONARIES AND ARTISANS TO THE SIX NATIONS)

Lake Utsague July y^e 31 1765

BRETHREN

We were informed by our Messenger,[2] that we sent you last Spring, that you would not only Assist us by sending us Ministers to teach us Christianity; but also that you would assist us, in seting up husbandry, by sending a Number of white people to live with us; who when come should build us Mills, teach us husbandry, & furnish us with Tools for Husbandry &c . . .

We greatly rejoiced at hearing of it, & expected them this Spring; but are disappointed, at which we are very sorry; but we hope that we may yet receive them, & should much rejoice in it should you send them to us–

We would have you Understand Brethren that we have no thoughts of selling our Land to any that come to live among us; for if we should sell a little Land to any, by & by they would want to buy a little more & so our Land would go by Inches till we should have none to live upon–yet as those who come to Instruct us must live, we have no objections against their improving as much Land as they please; yet the Land shall remain ours

We have Brethren never petitioned to you yet for any to assist us, but only those that come with Gods News; yet as you have offered to assist us likewise in teaching of us Husbandry, we greatly rejoice in it; & think that they should go together, the one as well as the other; & that we want Instruction in both

Brethren we send our kindest Love to you, & remain your Brethren

ISAAC DAKAYENENSERE
ADAM WAONWANORON

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[1] *Isaac and Adam, both presumably Mohawks, are here writing from Lake Otsego, whither they had removed with their brethren because of the scarcity of food at*

Onohoquaga. Isaac was a convert, could read the Scriptures in Mohawk, and was a teacher to the Indians. I know nothing of Adam.

[2] *This messenger was 'Good Peter" (Gwedelhes Agwerongongwas). The following passage* (NARRATIVE III, *30) shows how Peter's visit impressed Wheelock: "This is he whom the Indians at Onohoquage sent last March to ask for a Minister; and who came Three hundred Miles through a deep Snow, and reached Mr Wheelock's that very Day, and at the very Hour that several Ministers met to examine two young Men for the Ministry; one of which was designed for them. And so remarkable was the Providence of God, that an Interpreter came in at the same Instant, who had lived with these Indians for ten Years, by whose Assistance we were able to understand them, and they us. Thus all these three Parties met together in less than half an Hour, from Places Three hundred Miles distant, and without any previous Appointment, or the least Knowledge of each other's Design."*

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Eleazar Wheelock to Isaac Dakayenensere and Adam Waonwanoron at Onohoquaga

(REPLYING TO THE PREVIOUS LETTER)

Lebanon Aug^{t} 19, 1765

MY BRETHEREN

Yours of July 31. I received yesterday. I am very Glad to understand that the Indians intend to cultivate their Lands, and that they desire to have mills and to be helpd in setting up Husbandry. but am Sorry to hear of your Disappointment, and of the Misunderstanding that occasioned it.—which I suppose was by means of an unskilful Interpreter.—I understood by Joseph Woolley that the Reason why he had no more Boys to teach last Winter was because the Cheif man did not favour it who tho't it not best to teach them English, and I had understood before that the Indians did not Seem to be much disposed to practise Husbandry.—and when I Represented to Peter and David the great Importance of it to the Indian I told them if they wishd (?) I would do all I could to help them & that I did not doubt but the English would assist them in Building Mills, getting Tools, and teach the Indians to use them and I also set up a Blacksmith among them &c. I see they liked it well but I did not know that the Rest of the

Indians would. and I expected they would Send me word before I did anything about it that & for that I have waited ever since. As soon as I read y^r Letter I Sent for the Men whom I had tho'ts of Imploying they came this morning to see me but the Master workman who is a very good man got into a poor State of health and not likely to be well enough very soon and also his Son is not well & is just going to Sea for his health. If I had known what I now hear from you 4 months ago they would likely have been with you about y^e week (?) before now. however the Cheif workman desires M^r Smith[1] & M^r Gun would look out a Suitable place for the mills, and See if they can find suitable Stones for a Grist Mill and Send me word. whether they can find a good Place and how far they must go for the Stones &c and also where the Irons may be had whether nearer to you than Albany and they both will be ready to come to you as soon as the Season and Ways will allow of it in the Spring. If their own and their Families State will allow of it. provided that M^r Smith and M^r Gun will write me that which is incouraging respecting the Place and that the Indians Still desire it.

If you like him for your School Master and will build him a House and fence him a Lott of Land So that he may keep a Cow or two which may give Milk in the Spring, that will help these men to live while they are about your work.

Joseph Woolley is accounted a very Honest Young man, and is well accomplished to teach your Children I hope the Indians will be very kind to him

I am Glad to hear of your kind Reception of M^r Smith. I hope Y^e Indians will Love him much & treat him as Gods Messenger to you.

I give my Love to you and all among the Indians who love our Lord Jesus Christ. *and am Your Brother*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

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[1] *Wheelock had sent Titus Smith (June 19, 1765) to Onohoquaga. Elisha Gunn was Smith's interpreter.*

Isaac Dakayenensere to Eleazar Wheelock

Onohoquague 9 *Octob* 1766

BROTHER—

By your writing to us last we understand that you and the Boston Board are Different, we always thought before you were one, and that the Missionaries came all from one place, but now we think otherwise[1] . . . Broth^{r}, We are poor Creatures we know and we think you know it, for we have often told you So, and we always exceeding Glad when you send us a Minister—
Broth^{r}, we desire you to write to us again, we receive much comfort from your Letters it Seems you do,nt forget us, we hope this will find you well and your Assistants this leaveth us all well—

ISAAC *in y^{e} Name of the Councill*

TO Y^{E} REV^{D}, M^{R} WHEELOCK—

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[1] *Isaac's uncertainty may well be excused. See Appendix B for an account of the missionary societies.*

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A Fragment

May 30th 1765.

This morning, the Chiefs of this Town met together to consult about sending their Children to M^{r} Wheelock; when they finished, they came & told us what they determined—

They said, we told you, four Boys were desirous to go to that great Minister, but we can't send only one at this Time, because the Parents of the other depend upon them to get something another to eat if they should go away we Should suffer. One of them said, "I would send my Daughter if Joseph had a Horse, but I intend to carry her there myself next Fall and see her landed safe. They told us also, we used to go to a Place called Connosorawge for our Provision, but now the Door is shut we can't go there any more—we dont know what we shall do, it may be we shall be obliged to eat Leaves to preserve our Lives—Moreover, they said those Ministers that are coming will be hungry, because we are short of Provision. After they had done Speaking they said we thank that great Minister for trying to do us good, it shall be done as he has said.

David Fowler, MONTAUK

DAVID FOWLER, *brother-in-law of Samson Occom, was born at Montauk in 1735. As a child he was taught by Occom. On April 12, 1759, at the age of twenty-four, he entered Moor's Charity School, and in 1761, at the expense of the Boston (Scotch) Board went with Occom to the Six Nations and secured as recruits three Mohawks and one Farmington. In 1765 he was approved as a schoolmaster by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents, and in that year began teaching at Canajoharie. Here he tried to teach the Indians to cultivate their lands that they might to a degree be relieved of the famines to which their hunting life exposed them. In 1766 he married Hannah Garret, a Pequot resident among the Narragansets (Rhode Island), and one of Wheelock's pupils, and removed in 1767 to Montauk, as schoolmaster. In 1770 he was removed from his position because of inattention to duties. In 1774 he was sent with Occom as representative of the New England Indians to treat with the Oneidas for the emigration of the Christian Indians to New York. Fowler settled among the Oneidas, and became one of the leading men of the Brothertown settlement. He died March 31, 1807.*

In general his life was exemplary. He was an industrious farmer, and a recognized man of worth among the New England Indians, although much inferior mentally to his brother-in-law. In 1767 he made a heroic journey, alone and on foot, of some four hundred miles, from the Oneida country to New England, for supplies to relieve Kirkland, with whom he and his wife lived, and after an interim of two days retraced the four hundred miles in less than ten days. His letters on Hannah Poquiantup and Amy Johnson, whom he courted, and on Hannah Garret, whom he married, are most quaint.

David Fowler

David Fowler's Confession[1]

I David Fowler acknowledge, that while M^{r}. Wheelock was abroad on a Journey, I being in a bad State of Health and not able to pursue my Studies, and understanding that my aged Father was much in Debt and reduced to great Difficulty thereby which moved my Compassion towards him, and made me earnestly Desire to contribue to his Releif which I supposed I was able to do tho' my Indisposition was such as would not allow me to prosecute my Studies. I went away without M^{r} Wheelocks Leave, and continued absent till yesterday. In doing which I acknowledge I acted Disorderly, and gave a bad Example to others which if they Should follow must Terminate in the Disgrace and ruin of this School, and restrain charitably Disposed Persons from further Expressions of their Charity towards it, or Endeavours to promote it.

I did not doubt but my Reasons were Such as M^{r} Wheelock would have thought Sufficient if I had Submitted them to his Judgment and Determination. and I acknowledge that in my neglecting to do it as I did I have treated M^{r} Wheelock unworthily. I ask his Forgiveness and also forgiveness of M^{r} Lathrop my School Master. and pray I may be continued a Member of this School, and promise by divine grace I will walk orderly, and Shew proper Respect to the Authority of the School for Time to come. And I earnestly Desire that my late conduct may not encourage Others to do the like and I do now declare it is my Settled Determination to keep the great End of my being Continued in School in view viz. the Spreading the Gospel among the Pagans, and to be governed in that Affair by Such Christian Rules and any Orders of Such as Providence Shall provide, agreable to the Word of God.

As Witness my Hand.

Dated Nov^{r}. 20. 1764

David Fowler

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[1] *This confession was written out by Eleazar Wheelock.*

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Hartford May 2 1765

REV^d AND HONOURED SIR.

According to your desire I now send you a few Words of our Transaction.—I have determined to have Amy[1] for my Companion: I shall marry her as soon as I return from Onyda, if I find all things well betwixt us—We have settled all those things I told you of. some she confesd and some not: I suppose some were fals.—I hope, Sir you will take the best Care you can of her. She wants a Gown very much, Handkerchief, also I wish you would let her have some fine Linnen to make her &c. Don't know what else she wants, it is likely you will when you come up.—I know if you love her as much as you do me, all what she desires will be given: It is strange (if M^r Wheelock, Don't love my Rib as well as my whole Body.—I have given her a Gold Ring, which cost two Dollars:—I hope Sir, you won't be Displeas^d with me for that, I think it will do her good; now she sees my Sincerity towards her. therefore she will put more Weight upon what I say to her, it will also serve to keep her back from those things. She has been apprehened too often; though not once since she came here. She tells me that she is quite contented here and hopes to tarry all Summer.—Do let her tarry the bigest Part of this Summer, if you dont design to send her to Boston. Sir you know, Woolly[2] don't want one so dexterous as I do, at least he can do better with poor one than I can: for I want one that is Handy in every thing: I expect to do great deal in reforming my poor Brethren both in spiritual and temporal things; also I shall be always crowded with Guests: I believe, you seem to see how it will be. from these Reasons and many others I can produce had I Time, you may see that I require one that can turn her Hand to any thing that belongs to Houswifry.

After I had some Conversation with Mirs. Bull about Amy I understood that she han't had one well Day since she came here: I suppose she cetch'd Cold when I brought her up: She has continual Pain in her Side & Head. I am afraid she is in a consumptive way: She should go to some skilful Physician.—Sir, you dont know how much it disheartens me, when I consider her Weakness it strikes such Heaviness in my Heart so that I am unwilling to leave her; for fear, you wont try to get her healed. O pray for her in secret and Private, that God would give Her Health and Strenght also all the Graces she stands in need of and continue her a long and rich Blessing in the World, that he would make her a Pattern of Piety & Virtue to all her poor Kindred, who will be about her. I am cut off from my Expectation, I thought I found one that was able to go through hard Work: but I see now I am in the same Difficulty as before; but I hope for the Better not for the worst.—

I did not hear of her Illness till after I wrote you one Letter, so I was obligd to writer another, that is the Reason why I put it in the last Place.—Poor Girl I cant help loving her, She is indeed a pretty Girl. And therefore from this Time I shall keep clear from all Girls whatsoever.

Sir I shall be exceeding glad if you should tell Jacob to put all my things into Jacob Woolly Chest and let not one of theme be lost.

May the Blessing of Heaven reast on you and Family. and continue you a long and rich Blessing in the World, may God bless all your untakings; and give you Skill to conduct and Govern all those that are commited to your Care: is the Sincere Prayer & Desire of him, who desires the continuance your Prayers.

your most affectionate,

though unworthy Pupil,

DAVID FOWLER

P. S. My Amy gives kind Respect's to you and Madam. Sir, I hope you won't let this Letter be expos'd.

THE REV.^{d} ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

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[1] *Amy Johnson, Mohegan, sister of Joseph Johnson. She entered June 2, 1761, and had left the school in 1766. Love (66) states that she was employed at Captain Bull's Tavern, the "Bunch of Grapes," in Hartford, Conn.*

[2] *Probably Joseph Woolley, teaching at Onohoquaga.*

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoyda May 29th 1765

REV.^{d} & HON.^{d} SIR

After much Fatigue and Discouragement by the way I reach'd here last Sabbath Day in the Morning. I got up to Johnson Hall 11th instant, deliver'd all what you sent by me both money and Letters to M^{r} Kirtland.[1]—His Honour Sir William Johnson was in suche great Business that we could not speak to him under five Days.—I have been down to Onohoquawge to get those Boys Joseph appointed to go down to School but I could get none of them: Some said, they had too much Work to do and others said that I came away too soon and some said they will let their Children go School there little while and then they'll send them: I suppose they would send their Children if I waited two or three weeks; but I was unwilling to tarry so long for the Gentlemen's Motion.

I have settled Joseph Wooley with his Help, a School-Master at Onohoquawge, he is greatly belov'd there, it will be best for him to return as soon as possible. He has done nothing there worth mentioning besides learning their Language.—We heard how he was settled last Fall; I understood when I was down that there was no such thing mentioned.—M^{r} Kirtland is gone up to Seneke Country again; he sot out from this Place 27th instant and with a heavy Heart: things go on contrary to his Mind.—I am greatly concerned about him.—He took my Horse up with him, and he told me that he would bear all the Blame; for he should kill himself if he carried all what he wanted up on his Back.—I beleive he will send the little Creature very soon by those men whom Sir William sent to fetch down the English Prisoners from that Place. I understood so much about our Ministers when I was down to Onohoquawge, I think it will not do for them to go togather they must be seperate: one of them must come up here, and the other to Onohoquawge, If they should go togather from Place to Place their coming will be to none affect: Because they expect the Ministers will settle & tarry with them.—They are suspecious People, they'll soon get something another against them if they don't tarry in one Place that will strike off all they Affections from them; If they lose the Affections of these People it is over with them.—I can't express myself by writing as I could by talking.—I live like a Dog here, my Folks are poor & nasty, I eat with Dogs, for, they eat & drink out of the same as I do.—I shall need ten Dollars more. It would best for Calvin to come here. here is one pretty Town just by me and good many Children. I must go down to German-Flats to get Provision. after that I shall sit down to my School. Here are great Number of Children, but I cant tell you how many Scholars I shall have. I beleive my singing School will exceed the other in Number. I cant get but one Boy here.—You will know why I could get no more by the Speach I send you. Joseph Wooley is almost nacked I am oblig'd to let him have one of my Shirts.—

I shall be glad you would send me another—Sir, I hope you won't let this Letter be seen, I have no Table to write upon, besides I have not writ so long my Hand's out of order.—Please to give my kind Respects to Madam, Master and Ministers. Please to accept much Love & Duty from

your affectionate
though unworthy Pupil

DAVID FOWLER

[1] *Samuel Kirkland, born at Norwich, Conn., Dec. 1, 1741. He was the most important Protestant missionary to the Six Nations in the eighteenth century. He entered Moor's Charity School Oct. 31, 1760, and in 1762 became a member of the sophomore class of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). In 1764 he undertook a mission to the Senecas, among whom he stayed for a year and a half. In the meantime he had been granted (at Wheelock's request) his college degree,* in absentia. *On June 19, 1766, he was ordained, and on the same day commissioned by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents as Indian missionary. He began his labors among the Oneidas, with whom he remained for some forty years. In 1768 he was reported as at the point of death (pleurisy). In the same year the English trustees of the fund raised in England by Whitaker and Occom for Wheelock's school granted him £100, Sterling, and the Society in Scotland ordered a salary to be paid Kirkland and charged to the fund which Whitaker and Occom had raised in Scotland. In 1769 he married Jerusha Bingham, Wheelock's niece, "with no Dowry other than vital Religion and good Sense," and in the same year but having no relation to this marriage, trouble developed between him and Wheelock. According to George Whitefield, jealousy between Ralph Wheelock and Kirkland was the cause, and John Thornton of the English Trust stated that Kirkland had complained of unkindness on Ralph's part. The son may have been at fault—he was incompetent and a meddler—but he was by no means the main cause of the breach. From a reading of the Wheelock-Kirkland correspondence it is clear that Wheelock was supposed to finance Kirkland's mission to the Oneidas, and that he failed to finance it as fully as Kirkland needed. Furthermore, the distance from Oneida to Lebanon, Conn., and to Hanover, N. H., the tardy arrival of letters, false rumors reported to Wheelock of Kirkland's treachery to him, Wheelock's jealousy of the efforts of the Society in Scotland and of the Boston Board of the New England Company (by which Kirkland had been accepted in 1770)—these various causes led to a breach and continued to separate the two ministers. On his part Wheelock believed that he had done his utmost to aid Kirkland. In 1769 he wrote to Kirkland that he had disbursed for him, in some nine months' time, one hundred and ninety pounds, and he repeatedly urged Kirkland to declare any pressing need. On the other hand, Kirkland's needs outran Wheelock's disbursements, and much to Wheelock's anger he begged some fifty-seven pounds from various clergymen of New England, and, as stated, joined the Boston (London) Board, giving to that Board as his reason for joining that Wheelock was too busy with Dartmouth College to take care of him. This Board allowed Kirkland £100, Sterling, as salary, and £30 for being his own interpreter, and an additional £20 for an Indian assistant. In the following year, 1771, the Society in Scotland allowed him £50 a year, and in 1773 agreed to share equally with Harvard College in paying him (and an assistant) £180 a year.*

On Oct. 30, 1771, Kirkland and Wheelock met at Hanover for a so-called reconciliation, and drew up an itemized capitulation. It was mutually agreed that they had never understood each other up to date, that Satan had been busy, that Kirkland was friendly to the school, and that Wheelock had been much concerned for Kirkland's welfare. The reconciliation really meant a complete severing of relations. Wheelock never recovered from the rancor caused by Kirkland's defection to the Boston Board. In 1775 he lamented that Kirkland had gone over to his rival and was being supported in part by the Society in Scotland from funds raised for Wheelock, and refers to his former pupil as one whom he had taken "from the dung-hill and carried—in my arms seven or eight years."

Kirkland continued his labors among the Six Nations. During the Revolution he rendered valuable service by keeping the Indians neutral, or friendly, to the American cause. In 1793 he obtained a charter for the Hamilton Oneida Academy, which in 1810 became Hamilton College. In 1794 the Oneidas requested that he be removed from his position, but an investigation proved favorable to him. In the same year, however, the Society in Scotland withdrew its support. He died Feb. 28, 1808 (Lothrop, LIFE OF SAMUEL KIRKLAND, *Sprague,* ANNALS, WHEELOCK LETTERS).

List of David Fowler's Books

"Books that David Fowler Carried into the Mohawk Count^{ry} from the Libery to destribute among the Boys that are keeping School there & for himself"—

20 New Spelling book, Auther Gilleo Ker
10 Smaller Intitleed the British Instructor first Ser
2 small catacism by John Watts
2 Second Ser. do by John Watts
1 Book. I. Divine Breathing by John Beart. A.
1 Book Con^{g} twenty five Discourses Sutable to the Lords Supper —by John Owen
1 School Masters Assistant

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Conawarohare in Oneida June 15th 1765

REV.^{d} AND HON.^{d} SIR,

THIS is the twelfth Day since I began to keep this School, and I have put eight of my Scholars into third Page of the Spelling book: Some almost got down to the Bottom of the same third:— I never saw Children exceed these in learing. The Number of my Scholars are twenty six when they are all present togather: but $\overset{\text{it is difficult}}{\text{I cant keep}}$ them togather: they are $\overset{\text{often}}{\text{always}}$ roving about from Place to Place to get something to live upon. Provision is very scarce with them.—

I am also teaching a singing School: they take great Pleasure in learning to sing: We can already carry three Parts of several Tunes.

My Friends are always looking for the Ministers there is scarce a Day passes over but that some Body will ask me when will the Ministers come: all that what I can tell them, is, I expect they will come middle of this Month. I have been treated very kindly since I came to this Place,—I beleive I should want for nothing if they had wherewith to bestow it.

I find it very hard to live here without the other Rib, for I am oblig'd to eat with Dogs, I say, with Dogs because they are continually liking Water out off their Pales and Kettles; yea, I have often seen Dogs eating their Victuals when they set their Dishes down, they'll only make a little Noise to show their Displeasure to Dogs and take up the Dish. finish of what was left. My Cooks are nasty as Hogs; their Cloaths are black and greasy as my Shoes. their Hands are dirty as my Feet, but they cleanse them by kneading Bread; their Hands will be very clean after they have kneaded three of four Loves of Bread. I am oblig'd to eat whatsoever they give me for fear they will be displeas'd with me; after this Month I shall try to clean some of them. for I must move along by Degrees, if they once get out with me it is all over with me.

I shall have a House built me next Week, then I shall have my Victuals cleaner.

I think 30 lawful money per Annum as the least that will be necessary will not be too much for my Support for the first Year or two three first Years: It is very costly living to live here, being because it is so far from an English Settlement; and I determine to live better than a Hog, for my Food now is not fit for any Man, that has been used to have his Victuals drest clean: I am almost sick now for want of some Refreshment that is nourishing. I wish I had some of Mrs. Wheelock's Bread & Milk, little sweet Cake and good boild Meat.

I could eat those things gready as a Hog that has been kept in a Pen two Days without it's Swill.—

I now & then drink some   which I carried with me
My Daily Meat is Tea   and dry Bread,
which I bought
little Fish which I cetch out of a small River and their Pottage which is made of pounded Corn.

If you could obtain the Favair to can get me Writing that will draw Provision now & then from Kings out of the Stores I wish you would do it: for I am obliged to go forty Miles to buy my Provision.—

I heard from M.^{r} Kirtland a few Days ago. he is well and teaching Children to read. "Please to give my kind Respects to Madam "& Master and Love to all the rest of your Family, esspecially to "your Children." I ask the continuance of your Prayers, that God would give me Grace and fill my Heart with the Love of God and Compassion to perishing Souls and that God would make me an Instrument of wining many Souls to Christ before I leave this World.—Please to accept much Love & Respects from,

your affectionate.
though unworthy Pupil,
DAVID FOWLER.

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David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoyda June 24 1765

HON.^{d} & REV^{d}, SIR

I now write you a few Lines just to inform you that I am well at present, and have been so ever since I left your House, blessed be God for his Goodness to me.—I am well contented here as long as I am in such great Business. My Scholars learn very well; I have put eleven in a, b, abs: I have three more that will go to that Place this week; and some have got to the sixth Page.—It is ten thousand Pities they cante keep togather, they are often always going about to get their Provision. My Father one of the Chiefs at in whose House I keep told me, he beleived some of the Indians would starve to Death this Summer; some of them have almost consum'd all their Corn already.

I came too late this Spring, I could not put anything in the Ground, I hope I shall next Year.—I beleive I shall perswade the get all these Men in this Castle at least the most of them to labour next Year: They begin to see now that they would live better if they cultivate their Lands than they do now by Hunting & fishing: These men are the laziest Crew I ever Saw in all my Days: their Women will would get up early in the Morning and be pounding corn for Breakfast the men and they lie Sleeping till the Victuals is almost ready and as soon as the Breakfast is over the Women take up their Axes and Hoes and way to the Fields and leave their Children with the Men to tend; you may would see half a Dozen walking about with Children upon their Backs: a lazy and sordid Wretches, but they are to be pitied not frown'd.

I have been miserably of for an Interpreter I can cant say but very little to them; I hope by next Spring I shall be my own Interpreter. It is very hard to live here without the other Boon; I now am oblig'd to wash, mend my Clothes, cook all my Victuals and wash all the things I use, which is exceeding hard; I can't go into a Feild as I should do if I had a Cook here. I shant be able to employ my vacant Hours in improving ye Lands as I should do[1]

I receivd a Letter from Mr Kirtland last Sabbath wherein he informs me that but he did not inform me how he was; he only gave an account how he was treated by Indians that accompanied him up. The Indians left him with all His heavy Pack: he had the most fatigueing Journey this Time he ever had before:—He designs to come down to get Provision and if he dont, he will eat no Bread till Indian Harvest; and his Meat is nearly rotten having no Salt.—"He has swap'd away the little Poney which I did not know before "

"I beleive, I shall come down latter end of August but I shall "tarry a little while with you. I design to hasten up here again; I "shall make this Place my Home as long as I live.—Give my kind "Respects to Mrs Wheelock, Love to your Children and to all the "Scholars."

And may the Blessings of Heaven rest on you &c &c and continue you a long & rich Blessing in the World, may the Heathen in the Wilderness feel the goodness of thy Labours.—May you have Double Measure of the Spirit of God, and fill your Heart with Love of God and Compassion to poor perishing Souls, and may the Giver of all things, give Strength and Health, Wisdom and Authority to rule govern and theach those who are commited to your Care in Fear of the Lord: which is the sincere Prayer of him who desires the Continuance of your Prayers.

your affectionate
tho: unworthy Pupil,

DAVID FOWLER.

TO REV.^{d} M.^{r} ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

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[1] *This sentence, and some of the interlinear corrections, seem to be in Wheelock's hand.*

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David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoyda September 23 1765

HONOURED SIR.

I arriv'd here on the fourth instant, and immediatly began my School; but it is very small at present occasion'd by gathering Corn and building Houses, I beleive I shall have thirty after the hurry is over—My Scholars learn very fast some have got to the ieght Page. I am yet teaching both Old and Young to Sing, they can carry three Parts of several Tunes neatly.

I made it a long time before I got up here because I had such heavy Pack.—I bought me Plow Irons and several other Things which I could not do without very well. I have got the little Horse; the Man ask'd a Dollar for keeping him and half a Dollar for going with me ten Miles before he would deliver the Horse to me.—My coming up so slow, buying so many things, giving Money to those Women and bringing two Horses almost took all my Money before I got up; I think I was very prudent with my Money.—I shall want twenty Dollars more. also I shall be exceeding glad you would send me a Compleat Letter Writer and Guide to Prayer.—

I design to come down next year after I have planted Corn and my Garden things come up. so that I may be able to tell my Children how they must manage the Garden in my Absance.

Give my kind Regards to Madam and Master I could not write to him this Time.—And accept much Love and Duty from,

your affectionate though unworthy Pupil

DAVID FOWLER

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David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Canawarohare Janr^{y} 21 1766

REV.^{d} AND HON.^{d} SIR

After much Warry and Fatigue about my House and Journeys after also hungry Belly I began to keep my School steadily sometime in November. My Scholars learn very well: I find it is impossible to keep the Children steadily to School, lett Men labour and work as English do: They are lazy and inhuman pack of Creatures as I ever saw in the World; They have seen me working and tuging Day after Day and never offerd to help me in the least thing I had to do in my House only finish'd covering it and left me. I was oblig'd to eat with Dogs near two Months—I say with Dogs because they are always licking Water out off the Pails and Kettles we use: Now I live like a Gentleman, I have a planty of Corn, Flour, Meat and rotten Fish.—I applied to Sir William for Provision; accordingly, he order the Commanding Officer at the Royal Block House to give me out Privision as long as I should want.

I am exceeding sorry as well as my poor Friends that M^r^ Chamberlain[1] does not return to us this Winter.—The Indians cannot conceive what can be the Reason why he don't return. But I told them three Reason, why he dont, return: and after they heard them they were easy.

I never saw such general Disposition of hearing the Word of God amongst these poor People as I do now: most every one of the adults of this Place, have openly renounc'd their Liquor and said that they will devote themselves in hearing the Word of God. Now is the time for Ministers to come up whilst they, are in such Disposition.—O for a Minister whose Heart is full of Love to God and Compassion to poor Sinners, one who is meak and lowly and crafty in wining Souls to Christ. who has a real Sence and worth of Immortal Souls would greatly weaken the Strong Holds of Satan in this Place.—Dear Sir, do all that is in your Power to get up a Minister early in the Spring. for the poor Creatures are rearly desirous to hear the Word of God, we have no Minister and yet we have a full Assembly every Sabbath. I have nothing New to acquaint you; I enjoyy a good State of Health and am contented.

I cant come down till some of y^e^ Scholars come up and take my School. If Jacob[2] is to come up; do let him take a School near me so that I may take care of him.—I want all my Cloaths in readiness. for I shall be in a very great Hast when I do come. I determine to see my poor Parents before I return; for I serv'd them basely last Fall. If they suffer I cant tell how I can come up. Joseph[3] dertermines to come down and pay you Visit also

Thomas[4] who has done me more Service than all the Town. He tells me; that he designs to go down with me and set my Rib on his Horse and he will come up with own his Horses or Legs, that is if I shall find one.

I rejoie greatly because I could not get one last year, espicially for Wooley. I hear he has no House.

I just now heard of Mr Kirtland he is poor forsaken Man. The Indians have drove him out off their Houses and now he lives in a poor House in the Woods my Friends cant conceive what he keeps them for: the Indians dont want him there; for they all hat him. It seems to me by what Mr Gray[5] has wrote to him that he is uneasy. Capt Butler[6] received a Letter from him whilst I was at his House, and immediately ask'd me how many Letters I brought for Mr Kirtland I told him one. &c Tell yr oldest Boy who went down the last that both his Parents left off geting Drunk.

I forgot to tell you what sort of Cloth I would have for my Cloaths. I want blue Broadcloth and that which is good. Give my kind Regards to Madam, also to Sir Wheelock, and Master, and Love to the rest of the Family also to all the Scholars.—That the Lord would prolong your worthy Live, and make you a rich Blessing in the World, also an Instrument of spreading the Gospel amongst the poor Heathen in this Continent and after well spent Life here receive your in the Mansions Joy and there to shine as the Stars in the Firmament forever and ever is the Desire and Prayer,

Revd Sir,
Of your affecionte
and obedient Servant
DAVID FOWLER

P.S. I hope you will overlook all my imperfections in this Letter for I wrote the bigest Part of it in Darkness.

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[1] *Theophilus Chamberlain (1737-1824), one of Wheelock's missionaries.*

[2] *Jacob, an Oneida (entered Oct. 5, 1765), or David's brother.*

[3] *Joseph Woolley.*

[4] *Deacon Thomas, a pious Oneida.*

[5] *Samuel Gray, Wheelock's scribe.*

[6] *Walter Butler, at one time a scholar in the school. He was the leader in the Cherry Valley Massacre (1778).*

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Canawarohare Feb^{ry} 17 1766

Rev^{d} Sir,

I receiv'd yours 25th of January which offer'd me much Pleasure, and also warn'd me against those things which I am so much addicted to: I hope your Admonition will not be entirely lost: I will try to take care mind what you wrote to me:

I wrote you a large Letter in the Month past which exhausted all the Matter that was in my Head; I now write you but a few Lines.—I am pursuing my Business with all Courage and Resolution that lies in my Power or Capacity. Rev.^{d} M^{r} Chamberlain can enform you whate Progress my Scholars have made in learning to read as well as I can.

Sir, I am almost nacked, my Cloaths are coming all to pieces; I shall be very glad all the Cloth that is intended for me be in readiness against my coming. I design to come down latter End of May or beginning June. I have nothing New to acquaint you, I am well and harty also contented. I am

Rev^{d} *Sir*

your affectionate Indian Son

David Fowler

P.S. Regards to Madam Sir Wheelock and to all the rest

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Canawarohare May 13 1766

REVEREND SIR

I am very sorry I cain't write you a Letter, which can be seen abroad. because Mr Kirtland is so much hurrid to get down: but he can give you a proper Idea of my School and my own Affairs.—I believe I may venter to write my secrets to you as I wont to do. since I have so often seen and felt your tender Cares and Affections. I have wrote a large Letter to Hannah Pyamphcouch[1] which will iether spur her up or knock her in Head.—I therefore ask a favour as a Child from kind Father or Benefactor, that this Letter may be sent to the Supperscrib'd Place as soon as you get it into your Hands. For I shall be down about the 13 or 15 of June and in very great Hast. I must tarry at your House a Week or ten Days the longest to shed my Skin. for I am almost nached now. I want all my Cloaths to be blue and that which is godd: The Reason why I want this Letter to get down so soon is, that she may have some time to think and dress herself up. & another which is the greatest that I may clear myself from those strong Bonds wherewith I bound myself to her and which could not let me rest Night and Day from the time I left her till I returnd to her again. what I mean about clearing myself is if she denies. If she won't let her Bones be joined with mine. I shall pick out my Rib from your House. ————

Sir. Dont be angry with me for write so bold and foolish. I hope you will not expose me

—Give my Kind Regards Mrs Wheelock and Sir Wheelock and to all the Family. accept much Love and Duty from your unwothy Pupil

DAVID FOWLER

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[1] *Hannah Poquiantup, as Wheelock calls her. She was a Niantic, entered the school Sept., 1763, and "went away a few months after."*

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

*Lebanon Aug.*st 26 1766

REV.d AND HON.d SIR,

I think it very hard that I must be blam'd so much as I have been since my Return from home, and all for taking up those things at Mr Breeds,[1] when I have Orders from Mr Wheelock to get them, for which I am now accounted a Devil or Proude as the Devil. After you have repeatedly and manifestly told me that I should have whatsoever I wanted; If you denied me when I came to ask for them; I should not feel half so bad as I do now, or if you told me in a mild Manner when I got home: those things which you got were too good and too costly, you must not have them, I should not resist you–. You know, Sir, I have always been governd and advis'd by you with all ease imaginable.

This brings into my mind what Treatment I met since I came here. yea it is shameful, when I have been so faithful to you as if I was your Negro, yea I have almost kill'd myself in Labouring.–I have done hither to all what laid in my Power to help you; I think I can say and beleive you too that I have done more Service to you than all the rest of the Indian Boys. and now I am too bad to live in the House for one of my misstepes, therefore I must leave you and your School this very Day and go weeping in the Road homeward

I am greiv'd that I have troubled you so much as I have. I am sorry those things were not denied me at first and then it would been allwell and easy before now.–But asure you, Sir, you shall receive Payment from me yearly till every Fathing be paid, it shall not be said all that Money and Pains which was spent for David Fowler on Indian was for nought. I can get Payment as well as white Man. O Dear me! I cant say no more,

I am
your unworthy Servant
DAVID FOWLER

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[1] *Gershom Breed, a trader.*

Eleazar Wheelock to David Fowler

Lebanon 26th Augt 1766

David Fowler

I this Minute received Yours and Sorry to find that you are not yet come to your right Temper of Mind. Who has calld You a Devil, or Said you are as proud as the Devil Since You came here? Who has ever said that you have not behaved well in the Main since you lived with me, or that I have not sat as much by You and expected as much benefit to ye grand Design as by any Indian I ever Educated or there has there been any Indian yt I ha' been mo. friendy to yn to yo & yr Charactr.—ha' I evr Sd yo ha' not done mo. for my Benefit yn all ye Indians I ever had &c. and now yo say I am too bad to live in ye House for one of my mySteps yrefore I must leave yo & yr School ys very day & go weepg in ye Road Homeward—Now David consr a little. Is this Just comely and reasonable Treatment of me. ha' I sd worse of yo or to yo yn yt I was afraid yt ye Prid of yr ⏀[1] aspird aftr such Grandr as was not for ye Gly of G. & cod not consist with ye good of ye genl Design in view. yt wn I had given yo leave to get every thing yt yowanted for ye Design & told yo I begrutchd yo nothg yt was necessry for yo.—yt yo shod affect to cloath yslf & Hannah like Courtiers & wn yo knew yt I had been already reproachd thro' ye Country, as I ha' been only for lettg yo Wear an old velvet Coat yt was given to yo—I told yo yt ye Eyes of all Europe & America wre Upon yo & me too. & ye Eyes of thousands wo are unfriendly & will not fail to Catch at any occasion to reproach me & ye Design—I told yo it was no Interest of mine but only yr Honr & Interest of X yt I was pleadg for, & ye Success of yt Cause wc has been so long an (—?) & in wc I ha' So much labourd & Worn out myself—& wc certainly so nearly concerns yo as me to Labr to promote—did yo not wn I was only Enquirg wt it was prudt & best for yo to ha' so many as 4 pr of shoes at once rise up & wth a very unbecomg air go out of ye Room & Say I wll ha' no shoes I'll wear Indian shoes—& how y^{o} & Hannah ha' Spent y^{r} prec. Hours yesterday & t'day I know not—Or how y^{o} will live or w^{n} y^{o} will serve tog^{r} I know not I wish y^{r} Sett^{g} out w^{re} mo. in y^{e} Meekness & Humility of X—as for my own p^{t} great as y^{e} prospects of y^{r} Usefulness are, (and y^{e} are very great if y^{o} will take G. with You) I don't at all des^{r} you shod return to Onoida wth y^{r} present Tempers—nor am I at all afraid but I can fully vindicate my own Reputation, take w^{t} Course y^{o} Will—I suppose y^{o} cant reasonably think it unjust if y^{e} Whole & plain Truth comes to y^{e} Light of y^{e} World, if I am put upon my own Vindication—nor do I think y^{o} can feal very Easie if y^{o} sho^{d} go 'till y^{o} return to me again. w^{c} I promise myself y^{o} will do as Soon as y^{o} return to God. my Heart is y^{e} Same and as full of Kindness & Good Will tow^{ds} You as ever it has been. and I am as ready to do any thing y^{t} will Hon^{r} Christ && promote y^{e} Salv^{n} of y^{e} Souls of y^{e} poor Indians as ever I was—but I ha' no notion of Send^{g} any Man w^{o} is aiming to set up himself instead of XJ. as y^{e} obj^{t} of y^{r} W^{p} & w^{n} y^{o} will app^{r} y^{e} Same as y^{o} ha' heretofore done y^{o} will find me y^{e} same

I am

Y^{r} Sincere Well wisher

ELEAZR WHEELOCK

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[1] *Wheelock's shorthand symbol for "heart." This is undoubtedly a copy, by Wheelock, of the letter sent. One wonders how he found time to copy so many of his letters.*

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David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Canawarohare Decemb^{r} 2 1766

REV^{d} AND HONOURED SIR,

I am very sorry I could not procure those things for Lord Dartmouth[1] before Master M^{c}Cluer left us: I have been in such Hurry ever since my arrival here, I could not go to the Neighbouring

Places to search for them. these Women dont make such till winter then they have wherewithal to make them I shall get them very easy in the Spring; I intend to send them down by first Person that goes from us—I have but one Pair of Stockings and Shoes—

My School is in a flourishing Condition my Scholars learn very fast the foremost of them got to the eighty sixth Page of the Spelling Book. This is the Second Day I kept my School since I came home.—I have but a small Number at present.—last Night I was out amongst my Brethren and they told me that I should have thirty seven Scholars this Winter. but I don't know whether I shall have so many.—My Encouragements are very great at present now I have some Prospects of doing little good among my poor benighted Brethren: I design to exert all my Powers within me to instruct my poor Scholars not only to read, and all things that belongs to Christianity so far as I am able, but also to instruct them to cultivate their Land, this is the only thing that will kept them togather also it will make them multiply and thrive in the World.—O that my Heart would melt with Gratitude both to God and Man for his wonderful goodness to me. for he has distinguishd me from many of my poor Brethren, in seting me up to be their Instructor, O that my Heart was full of Love to God and Compasion to my poor benighted Brethren.—By next Spring I beleive I shall be able to inform you something that will be worthy of Information about my School.—

I shall want some Money in the Spring for I could not get me a Cow this Year. I shall also Want to buy some Hogs. I beleive I shall raise fifty Bushels of Corn next year. I gave seven or eight Dollars worth to my Scholars Friends which I could not avoid, for they have shown me much kindness.—I find very great Profit by having the other Rib join'd to my Body for it hath taken away all my House work from me. but I had very hard spell geting it up here Rocks and Hills almost broke it into Peices two or three Times. But this Topic will not answer to dwell on long.—

I have nothing new to acquaint you I am and my Wife are well att present. I intend to come down two or three Years hence. nomore at present. But I remain

your affectionate though unworthy Serv^{t}

DAVID FOWLER

P.S. Give Duty to Madam Sir Wheelock and to all the rest of the Family, I hope you will not take it hard because I wrote Letter shamefully as I have for I have no Time write as I should My wife gives her Duty to you and Madam.

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[1] *William Cowper is supposed to have alluded to the Earl of Dartmouth in* TRUTH *(ll.377-378): "We boast some rich ones whom the gospel sways; And one who wears a coronet, and prays." He was born June 20, 1731, and succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Dartmouth (1750). In 1765 he was appointed president of the Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations, and in 1772 became Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1775, and resigned, 1782. Four years later he was appointed high steward of Oxford University. He died July 15, 1801* (DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, *q.v. for other details). He was president of the board of trustees controlling the fund raised by Whitaker and Occom in England. David Fowler was trying to obtain specimens of Indian handicraft for him. (In 1768 Wheelock sent over a pipe, a knife, shoes, etc.) Wheelock credits him* (NARRATIVE V, 282) *with a donation of fifty pounds.*

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David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Cananawarohare Feb^{ry} 26 1767

REV.^{d} AND HON.^{d} SIR,

I think all that tender Affection which I used to have from you is quite gone: but when I consider my miscarriages I cant say anything for myself. only this if I am unworthy to be look upon. I should not be employed—I think it very strange that one who has done most should be forgoten for all those which have been sent into these have not done any thing worth mentioning. all what they have done is only roving abroad and making the Indians angry.—I take it very hard that I have not receiv'd one Line when others have received Folio's after Folio's.—But since I am forsaken —I now beg the Favour of you to bury my Name entirely and never mention it no more to any one abroad but bury into oblivion though you may hear of my good Behaviour my Managments and my Prospects and what soever you may hear from me that is worthy to be reported let it never go out off your Doors,—But I shall always remember my obligations to you till the Day my of Death—My Scholars learn very fast some of them have got to the twenty fourth Chapter of Matthew

I want about 2 Bibles or Testements and Spelling Books. no more but remain,

*your affectionate, though unworthy Serv*ᵗ

DAVID FOWLER

P.S. my Wifes gives Duty to you.

◆

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoyda March 17 1767

REVᵈ AND HONᵈ SIR,

I suppose you have receiv'd my presumptuous Letter; which I beleive has given you much Sorrow and Trouble of Mind.—For I was in a very bad frame of Mind; occasion'd by Mʳ Kirtlands resuming too much of greatness before Company he appear'd to me, that he wanted to show what great man he was that he could order us about where and how he pleasd; this soon stuck in my Crop; and at this time Mʳ Kirtland had Letters come to hand and none for me; this encreased my anger, and in the midst of my Passion I wrote your Letter I indeed wrote whatsoever come out first; I hardly know what I was writing about, nor can I now tell what I wrote, for as soon as I finish'd writing I seal it up—but I remember some hash Word in it.

For which base and haughty expressions to you I do now in sincerity ask forgiveness for I acknowledge I spoke very ungratefully and improperly to a Benefactor, yea more a Father who has been at so much Trouble for me to fit me to be useful in the World. Again I say, I ask your Forgiveness I hope you will not take hard no longer.—I don't now think myself to be worthy of your Notice, I wonder you did not turn me out off the School—I now beg a Favour of you which will afford me Comfort and Ease, which, is this, whensoever you write to M^{r} Kirtland charge him not mention one Syllable of to me, for cuts me very much; though I see myself a mean and worthless Fellow and yet I am such foolish Creature as to trouble myself when others receive a Letter

I speak calmly and sincerely not in ruffle—Another Favour for M^{r} Kirtlands Comfort, which is this. Dont try to give him so much authority as that he would persuad or take upon himself to goven me or order me about. as soon as he try to do that he wont be so comfortable here; for he cant order me, nor no Missonary that shall come into these Parts. As I am an Instructor I am able to act for myself, without having a master over me, &c.

I am well and contented. Hannah also is well only she has some small turns of illness which Women of her Condition are apt to have—I suppose she will likely have a trial of Pain in June,—

Give Our Duty Madam and love to whole Family and School. I am in the main time

your affec^{t} and unwothy servant

DAVID FOWLER

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Kanawarohare May 28 1767

REVEREND AND HONOURED SIR

I am really sorry that I have molested you again in my last Letter to you. and now I sincerely ask your forgiveness of all my past ungreatfull and undutifull behaviour to You; I am ashamed of my hauty talk to you; for I have seen the Baseness of since I given you that undutifull treatment. again I ask your forgivness and no longer think hard of me—I determine to show such Hawtiness to you no more—

I am quit sorry to enform you of my Discouragement here—I cant see what I can Profit do here as long as these Indians dont labour for their continually going from Place to Place and when they are at home in some Business another which will take them from the School. I find it too hard for tarry with my wife at my present circumstances. for instead of keeping School I have been at work almost ever since my arrival here for I have not keep the School this two Months I dont know when I have so much to do. the Indians are unwilling to help us in our outward Business.

I think as soon as my wife get over her trial to come down and go over to Long Island where they are sincerely desireous for a School Master to come amongst them; Jacob[1] is too young to manage a School there and our Parents.

Sir, it is too hard for one to carry farming for two Families in a new Country.—I cant no more for the Boys are awaiting—only much Love and Duty from

your unworthy Servant

DAVID FOWLER

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[1] *Jacob Fowler, David's brother, at this time about seventeen years old.*

Ralph Wheelock to Eleazar Wheelock

REV^{d} AND HONO^{r} SIR.

The Barrer D. Fowler returned to us last Wednesday Noon, a^{d} y^{e} Letters enclosed, & on hearing his Acco^{ts} and finding his unalterable determination to leave this next Monday for y^{e} Indian Country, thot best to send him to look y^{o} at y^{e} Spring, but to no good purpose, as y^{o} left early in the morning, he returned yesterday 12^{oc} insisted on my procuring y^{e} Money for Mr. Kirtland, & his returning as before proposed, but after much persausion he concluded to visit his friends, & wait y^{r} arrival; however last Evening he hearing of y^{e} Misfortune of his Sister Phebe, he concluded either to see y^{o} to morrow or y^{e} Onoidas next week, & as he has sent his Chest & all to Albeny for L. Island & concluded himself as soon as possible to return there wth his Wife & Child, I determin to let him set out y^{s} Morning for y^{o} at Boston, hoping it might be most satisfactory to y^{o} to hear Judge & see for y^{r}self

Hono^{d} Sir
duty form
Your dutyfull

RALPH WHEELOCK

Fryday July 24. 1767. *Lebanon*

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Eleazar Wheelock to David Fowler[1]

SIR. *Lebanon* 17th *Dec* 1767

Yours of 16th Inst.^{t} is this minute come to hand, in which you desire me to pay you £5 for tools & other things which M^{r} Kirtland had of you: which is y^{e} first I ever heard of any thing being due to you, on y^{t} acco^{t}. M^{r}. Kirtland sent me an inventory of y^{e} things you left, but said nothing about my paying you for y^{m}.— before you left me I asked you what you desired or expected I wo'd do for you; and you said, nothing more than to pay you y^e^ two guineas, which I paid you.

I supposed it was reasonable you should have some further consideration for your service; and purposed to do it, when I could be advised what was reasonable: in which case I designed to consult M^r^ Kirtland.

As to those tools &c. I dont think you had a right to sell them, as they were given only with a view to accomodate you on your mission; and it was supposed y^t^ your companions in y^e^ wilderness would reap y^e^ benefit of them, as well as you. Nor do I think they (the donors) would be pleased of they should hear y^t^ they were disposed of, or converted to any other purpose; and especially to support you in y^e^ service of another board.

You know I never denied you anything for your support or comfort, within my power; & always told you to ask me freely for any thing y^t^ was needful for you & was always glad when I could oblige you; but you know y^e^ money which I have is christs, and I am only a steward & factor for him: what he owes I am ready to pay when I understand it is due.

I have received a collection of books for my Missionaries & schoolmasters—a choice collection indeed! Three books upon Musick, which by my influence are sent you in particular by M^r^ Knibb (?) I herewith send you.

I hope you will be an instrument of much good at Montague[2] —give my love to your aged Parents, from

Your Friend &c

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

P.S. It was so late when y^e^ boy got here, & y^e^ weather so very cold that I advised him to stay till morning Give my Love to Mrs. Occom.

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[1] *Fowler left Wheelock's service in 1767. He was schoolmaster at Montauk (1767-70).*

[2] *An error on Wheelock's part. Should be "Montauk."*

David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Mohegan May 25 1768

REV^{d} SIR

I must write again for that Money I sent for last year. I think you did not deal justly with me. For these things which M^{r} Kirtland had of me were my own procureing, Some I got by the Money which M^{r} Whelock gave me. Now I always thought whatsoever you gave me were never to be recalld again; because I have heard you say many times to give Gifts is like casting them into the Sea; But my things came to me a little harder, for I sufferd Hunger, Cold, Heat, and Weariness for them.

Pray Sir, consider a little what I have done for M^{r} Kirtland. I helpd to build his House and cleared two Fields, all this work I give him freely, as you would give a meal of Victuals to a perishing man. It would be a grand Imposition indeed for me to come to you for Money when I am imployed by others. But now I call for my own propety.

Reverend Sir, Dont fail of geting Money and send it down to Sister Occom. if you dont allow me but three Pound I shall be glad of it because I shall be troubled if I dont get the Money. I should not feal so distessd if I had not been sick so long. I was confind ten Weeks by Sickness, and after I got about a little, Fathers Wigwam was burnt into ashes and all their household stuff were consumed in it also—all our things save only our best Cloathing.

I have nothing new to acquaint you with. I shall be glad to hear of your School (also of you and your Family, I write in utmost hast for my company are waiting.

DAVID FOWLER

Jacob Fowler, MONTAUK

JACOB FOWLER, *brother of David Fowler, was born at Montauk, in 1750. As a child he was taught by his brother-in-law, Occom. On November 20, 1762, he entered Moor's Charity School, was approved as an usher March 12, 1765, and settled at Canajoharie. From 1770 to 1774 he was schoolmaster at Groton (now Ledyard), Connecticut. He removed with his wife to Hanover (1774), was ordained in March of that year, and taught for one year at Moor's Charity School, at that time in Hanover. In 1776 he was employed as messenger to the Six Nations by Governor Jonathan Trumbull (Connecticut), and in 1784 emigrated to Oneida (Brothertown), where he was chosen clerk of the town. He died probably in the spring of 1787.*

Jacob Fowler

Jacob Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Kanajohare Nov:^{br} 28th 1766

REV:nd & HON.rd SIR,

I kindly embrace this Opportunity to write these few Lines wishing they might find you well and hearty Sir as you was the last Time I saw you Sir; I hope you and all your Family are well. as for my Part I am well and hearty at Present and have been so ever since I left home; I like it very well to live here, I have found it much better than I expected, ay, and not only better than I expected, but much better than I deserve; I am well Contented to live here amongst these Indians in this Place, and they are very kind to me. tho' they are Drunk half their Time, they have not made any Attempts to hurt me. My Scholars are all well, and learn well, and some of them learn very fast, we have got the Indians so, that we can sing good many Tunes with all three Parts.

Please to give my Due Respects to Madam Wheelock. And my Duty to Sir. Wheelock. And my Love to all your Family Sir if you please, and my Love to all the School:

I have nothing more at Present, only, to add

'Tis from Your most Humble
Obedient, tho' Unworthy Pupel
JACOB FOWLER.

TO THE REV:nd MR.^{r} E. WHEELOCK.

Jacob Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock

Onawatogegh.[1] *Jan.*^{ry} 31.st 1767.

REV:nd *&* HON:rd SIR;

deeply sensible, of what Gratitude I owe to The Rev:nd M^{r} E. Wheelock and to all his Family, for his goodness to me to chuse me out from my stupid Brethren and to bring me into his School, and there to give me my Learning for Nothing only to be Dutiful and Obedient to him and to all his Family.

And to set me so much above my Fellow Creatures, (viz) to be capable to teach a School. To be sent up here to teach a School, and how Utterly Unworthy I am to be put to such Affair And how Unworthy I am of the least Favour from thy Hands. it makes me tremble to think to write to such a Great Gentleman as M^{r} E. Wheelock is, I am afraid I shall say Somthing that will be displeasing to him.—If I do I humbly ask Your Forgivness Sir.I am shame to say any thing about My School.

I suppose M.^{r} Chamberlein will tell you Sir about it—

I dont know what to write more—

Please to give my Duty to M:^{rss} Wheelock My humble Compliments to all your Children—Sir (si placet tibi Domini) my Love to all thy School.—

Give me Liberty to subscribe myself.—

Your most Obedient Dutiful tho Unworthy Pupel.

JACOB FOWLER.

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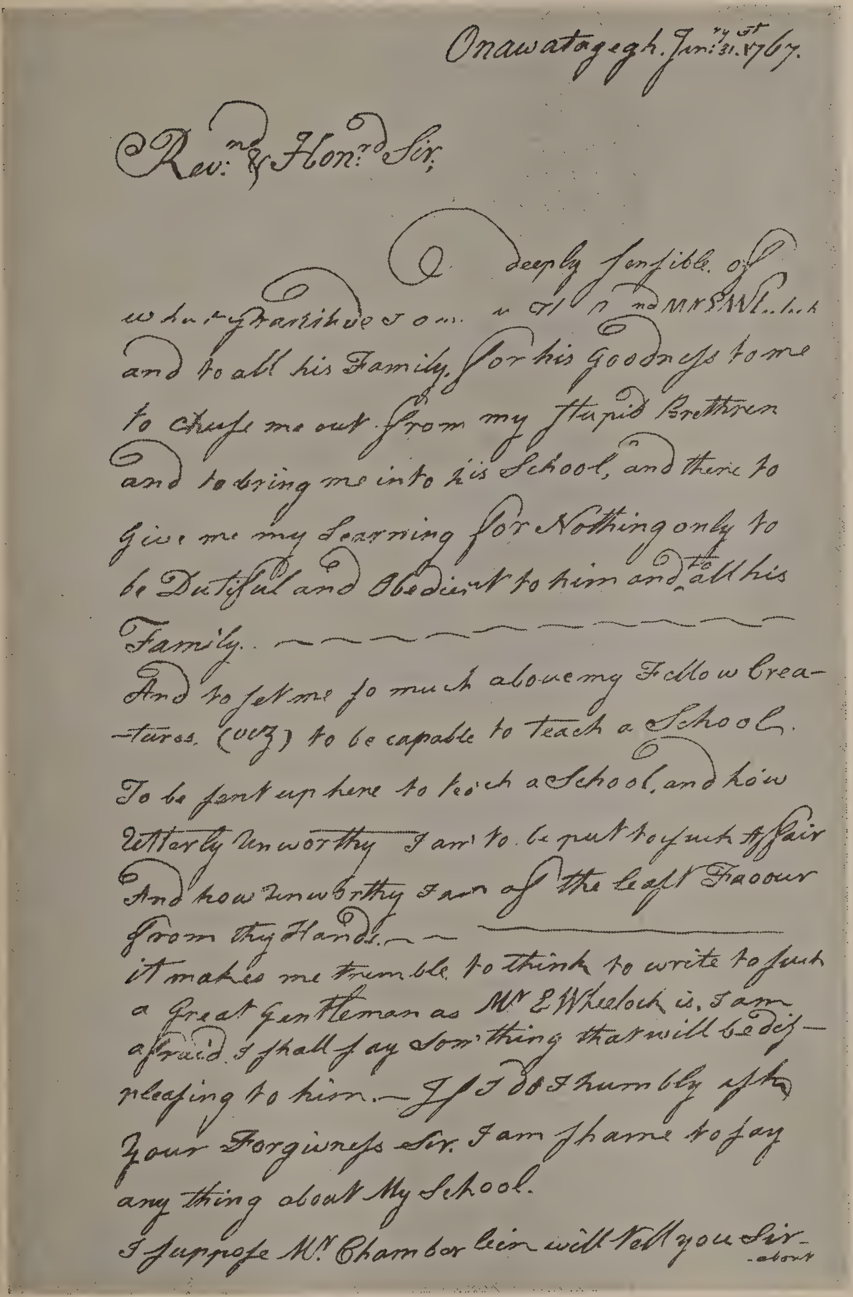
[1] *Under "Delaware County" Beauchamp mentions (53) "Onowadagegh, a Mohawk village of 1766."*

Jacob Fowler to Samson Occom

Dartmouth College 14th *March* 1774.

REVD SIR,

I do actually wish it lay in Power to help you but how I can I know not. I am disappointed still every way. I am Sensible that your Expences are great, and stand in Need of Every small *advance.*—I am preparing to come out like an old sheeps horn and hope to Shake the walls *Jerico,* and do some good, as soon as may be



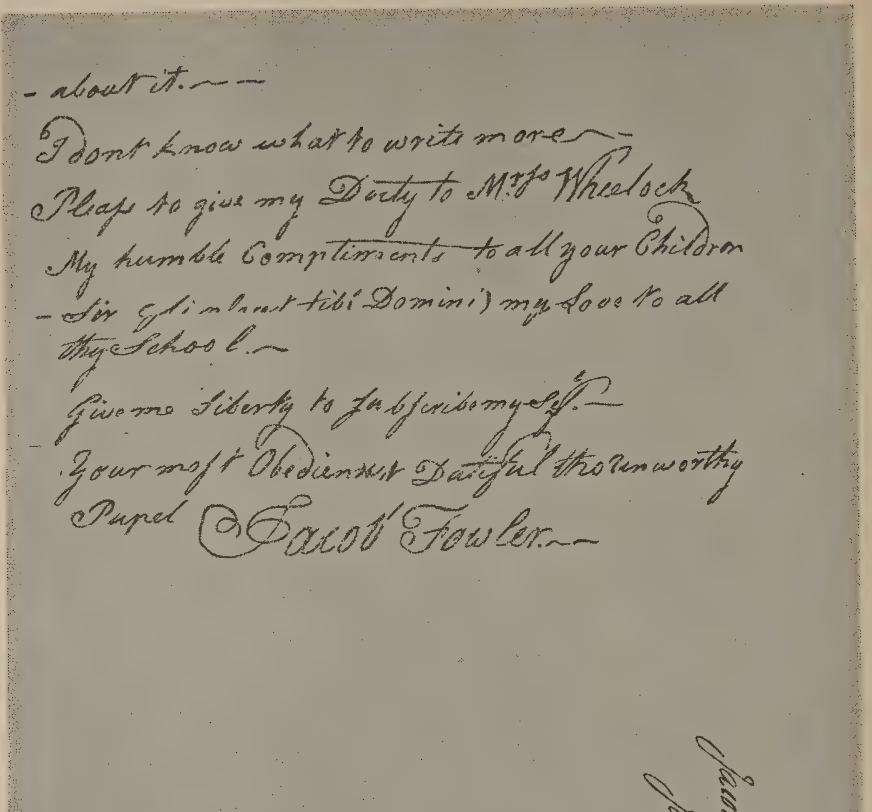
Onawatogegh. Jan:^{ry} 31.st 1767.

Rev:nd & Hon:rd Sir,

I deeply ſenſible of
what Gratitude I owe to the Revnd Mr E Wheelock
and to all his Family, for his Goodneſs to me
to chuſe me out from my ſtupid Brethren
and to bring me into his School, and there to
Give me my Learning for Nothing only to
be Dutiful and Obedient to him and to all his
Family. ~~~~~~~~~

And to ſet me ſo much above my Fellow Crea-
-tures. (viz) to be capable to teach a School.
To be ſent up here to teach a School, and how
Utterly Unworthy I am to be put to ſuch Affair
And how unworthy I am of the leaſt Favour
From thy Hands.—
it makes me tremble to think to write to ſuch
a Great Gentleman as Mr E Wheelock is, I am
afraid I ſhall ſay Som thing that will be diſ-
pleaſing to him.— If I do I humbly aſk
Your Forgivneſs Sir. I am ſhame to ſay
any thing about My School.
I ſuppoſe Mr Chamberlein will Tell you Sir
about

JACOB FOWLER TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK. Reduced from original in the possession of Dartmouth College. Second sheet of letter on verso of this page. For text see pages 117-118.



- about it. —

I dont know what to write more —

Pleaſe to give my Duty to Mr & Mrs Wheelock

My humble Compliments to all your Children

- Sir (Si libeat tibi Domini) my Love to all thy School. —

Give me Liberty to ſubſcribe myſelf. —

Your moſt Obedient & Dutiful tho unworthy Pupel Jacob Fowler. —

Jacob Fowler's
Jany 31 1767
Ind. [illegible]

I think they say—Fowler has past Examination and is *Licenced* to *preach* I believe 1st. of *March.*—I am full of *Business* and dont seem to get any thing neither. I am affraid sometimes I never will make a poor crooked sheep *Horn,* but Knowledge is said to grow as doth the Grass. which starts up, yet not seen immedeately.

I want much to see you but cant.

I am glad to tell the good News of Conversion, Number 16 were taken in Church ye 12 Inst. which was an effecting sight. and animating to my drooping Soul.

Our Love to all your House People

Duty to aged Dadda and Mamma, *et omnia*

J Fowler

Miss Wallcut[1] sends her *Love* and *Duty* to you, do send her little Letter.

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[1] *Mrs. Elizabeth Walcott, caretaker of the Indian boys at Moor's Charity School, 1774-76.*

Joseph Johnson, MOHEGAN

JOSEPH JOHNSON, *Mohegan, one of the most intense (and verbose) Indians recorded in this volume, entered the school December 7, 1758, in his seventh year. He was the son of Joseph Johnson, a captain of scouts during the French War. According to his own statement he went to Oneida as schoolmaster in his fifteenth (or sixteenth) year, and stayed there two years. By 1768 he had fourteen scholars. In 1769 Wheelock condemned him as a drunkard and apostate. For the next two years he led a wandering life, keeping school in Providence, Rhode Island, and going to sea. He returned to Mohegan in his twenty-first year, was converted, and became an exhorter among the Indians. In 1772 he was employed by the Boston Board, to teach at Farmington, and in the following year married Occom's daughter, Tabitha. He was the leader in securing lands for the removal of the Christian New England Indians to Oneida. On August 25, 1774, he was licensed (at Hanover) as a minister. During the Revolution he was highly praised for his mollifying influence on the Oneidas and his aid was solicited by the Provincial Congress (New York), by the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, and by George Washington. (See the following letters.) He died probably in 1776, at the age of twenty-four.*

His letters are interesting examples of the heart-searching and religious enthusiasm of the time, although their wordiness is at times tiring.

Joseph Johnson

Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoida November 10th *AD* 1767.

REVd AND HONd DOCT.r

Suffer me as an Indian and a good for nothing one, to Succscribe myself your dutifull Pupil, or one that will Endeavour to be dutifull for time to come:

Revd Sir, by the mere goodness of God we arrived Safe up here the Eleventh day from your house; & Experienced much of the goodness of God, in many Instances; Praised be his Name that he has all things at his Command, & distempers at his beck, they go and come at his pleasure. Blessed be the Lord God that has carried us safe when the Arrows of Death were flying thick about us, he worked a wounderfull deliverence for our Bodies, and may it please him in Infinite Mercy and condesention to work much more wonderfull deliverence to my precious Soul. and may the Lord Enable me to give due thanks for his kind preservation, and may his goodness lead me to a hearty Repentance. & may he please to fill my heart brim full of Gratitude to him and my kind Benefactors, I feel a disposition and a heart to Spend all for God and to Enlarge the dear Redeemers Kingdom in the world, as far as lies in my power. I think I have no Reason to take it hard to Endure heardships. Since our Blessed Lord Jesus has been before me he has led the way; He was acquainted with all these heardships before me; he was no Stranger to Hunger, Thirst, cold, nor yet Temptations, as he was man. Yea may I not think it hard if he call for my Life in his cause to let it go freely; for it is no more than he did, and may I go through all these Trials with Ease for his Sake: Seeing he has led the way. Set a patorn for all those that will follow him, he has been pleased to tell us beforehand of these things he was reviled, here he sought a Glorious Example of humiliation that when he was reviled he reviled not again, he was persicuted for my Sins thereby to learn me that I must in like manner go through persicutions, and that I must not think it hard to be persicuted called to nought for his Names Sake, for he was persicuted for my Sins Sake. He spilled his Seacred Blood for me he groaned out his Life for my Wickedness, he had no Self-Glory in his Sufferings; all he had in view was the Salvation of Man—that Guilty man might be Reconciled to its maker: now through his death & Sufferings the Apostate Man may converse with its Creator through a Mediator. He has dearly purchased a Heaven of happiness for every one that will believe in him. only believing heaven is mine, Eternal happiness is mine, Christ is mine, nay all the happiness in in this Life & the Life to come is all mine only for Recieving. Rev^d Doct.^r I would Enform you that that by the goodness of God I Enjoy my health as usual. as Sir, I would feign hope that by the Same goodness you Enjoy yours. I would Enform you likewise that I have entered the School which your Son Opened for me when he was up here.

I Entered on the Second tuseday of November. had only 5 Scholars they are all absent yet and perhaps will not return long before New Year. But they promise me three more this week, who are gone only to fetch some flesh from the Hunters. they behave very kind to me Since I came here, all that they have is free to me as one Born and brought up in the House.

I have plenty of Victuals such as they can afford & they are good Enough, better than I deserve. Nothing wanting but a thank full heart, they have plenty of Corn, fish, Squashes at present.

I have nothing that is Strange to Enform you in this Letter, you said something to me about chusing a Lad out of my School and Send him down to you. I think at present there is no choice I am not able to discern their Genious, here is two very likely boys look as if they would make men (in time) are about 12 & 13 years of Age I cant tell which of them is best, (they are booth branches of the royal family In their Nation and town) perhaps in the Spring I shall be more able to distinguish them, when I have seen what Proficiency they make. no more at present only hon^d Sir, I desire still to be under they Direction, please Sir, to Remember me in thy prayers. Pray that God would fill my heart with Gratitude booth to him and my kind Benefactors.—that he would keep me from pride & Ingratitude; which has ruined many a Youth. pray that he would grant me Prudence; and that I may put my whole Trust in him booth Soul & body for time & Eternity, that he may Enable me to live above the World, as, not having my treasure on Earth, but in the heavens, when neither moth nor rust corrupteth; nor thieves brake though and Steal. Pray that he would grant me wisdom from on high, such as none but a God can give; that he would grant me wisdom So to behave myself as not to dishonour or bring disgrace to Religion. that he would make me a blessing to the Children which he has commited to my charge. This is the true and sincere, hearty desire, of me, thy Dutifull tho Unworthy Pupil.

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoida. December 29th *AD.* 1767

REV^d^ & EVER HON^d^ DOCT^r^

I would once more attempt to write to you my Hon^d^ Benefactor. Notwithstanding I find my mind so Discomposed, it is as if their was no Solidness in my mind, Sometimes Encouraged, & at other Time Dishearted, So y^t^ I cant be Resolute in what I do. at present things look dark—they all wear a Garment of Discouragement, but I hope that Before long Some will change their present Garments, Look Encouraging to your poor Labourers in the Wilderness.

I Fear that God is about to give up these poor Ignorant heathen to walk after their own hearts, and cut them of Intirely from his Earth; I think at present their is Some concern amongst these Indians I would hope a Real concern, I hope that God is about to carry on his own work amongst us, and bring out Some of our Souls from this darkness into his Marvelous Light. I am yet in the Gall of Bitterness and in the bond of Iniquity. I hope that God will yet Enable me to See the pride of my heart, & the great Sin of Unbelief and the Necessity I stand in of X Jesus, I believe that unless God be pleased to Open my Eyes that I may See the wickedness of my heart I greatly fear I Shall never Obtain the One thing needfull.

I desire the continuance of your prayers dayly that God would make and keep me humble minded and willing to Submit to his will and pleasure & to dispose of me as Seems good to him and most for his own Glory and the furtherence of the glorious Redeemers Kingdom Here in this Desert.

It seems as if I was in Some measure willing to devote my ut to y^{t} End. I have no Strange news to Enform you at present. I Steadily attend the School, Such Times Excepted as when mr Kirtland wants my assistance The Scholars are 5 in number at present they larn very fast, I have Some hopes of having my School Enlarged in Number, but if not, I hope that it may Increase in Knowledge. I will do all that lays in my power to teach them in all thing I am capable of. I Live very comfortable upon the Indian fair, I Lack nothing but thankfull Heart. (as I wrote before.) I have had my health as usual By the goodness of God, and I hope Revd Sir, that by the Same Goodness that you have had your Valuable health as Usual Likewise. I would once more ask the Continuance of your prayers, that God keep me from pride, from Ingratitude, from dishonouring his great Name—from all the Temptations of the Divil, and from all the Temptations of my fellow Youth. That he would keep me from the Lusts of the Eye, and the Lusts of the flesh. and in short from Everything that is Displeasing to him.

I must own and I think it my duty to confess now that that I was wrong in my thoughts about that Question which Mr Kirtland asked me "do you think there is So great a Difference Between me "and M^{r} Wheelock. I misunderstood him he Said that do you think "there is a greater Difference between you and me, then there is "between M^{r} Wheelock and me. it was Last winter when I Shewed "my Reluctance in assisting him for his fire wood He said I "would "willingly take care of M^{r} Wheelock if he was up" here. I Said So would I. Then his Question came.

I have no more to write at this Time, only *Rev^{d} Sir;* I Desire Still to be under your kind Direction in all things that I undertake. *Rev^{d} Sir.* I Should be glad of a favour of a Letter from you as I always have a desire to hear from my kind & hon^{d} Benefactor. So hond Sir I desire to Subscribe myself.

your Humble & Obedient Pupil.

Joseph Johnson

P.S. my humble Duty to madam, & Respects to all your worthy Family. I have been in great Hurry in this Letter I dont know as you can Read it.

To the Rev^{d} Doct. Wheelock

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Rev^{d} *&* much Hon^{d} Doct.^{r}

I would once more attempt to write a few lines to you my kind and hon^{d} Benefactor as it is not only your Order, but my Indispensable Duty to write to you at every opportunity this being the third attempt that I have made Since I left your house (first by David, next William David passed by William came back) but have had the Misfortune of Seeing them booth, yet this once more will I trie peradventure it may reach you; in which I Shall Endeavour to acquaint you of the State of my School, and of the Indians; and Little of the manner in which I live at present.

Sir I have had By the goodness of God my health as Usual, and would hope that you have had your much Valuable health allowed you. Sir, I have lived very well the fore part of the Winter, but the Latter begins to come on heard—Sometimes Gluttled to the full at other times half Stearved never Steady, at present they now begin to cook some good dried guts of Dear and what is in it. (Dung if I may So call it.) to Season the corn; likewise some rotten fish which they have kept Since last fall to Season their Samps,[1] rottener the better they Say as it will Season more broth. corn they have plenty yet, but no thing to Season it. Little calf Died for hunger was Soon quarterd & boild and Eat the other day in this house, also some hens dying of Some Distemper was Served prety much the Same trick but not quite So quick. I have Lived Intirely upon the affare of the Indians this Winter Such times Excepted as when I was at Mr Kirtlands—the Indians are very much Engaged at present and have given me 14 children, this is Since I wrote you last and have Shewn their Respects to the Design as I Suppose Mr Kirtland will Acquaint you to the full. Mr Kirtland had proposed I Should come down Next week but the head men Requested that I should Stay with them longer to which I agredd with chearful heart to See them So much Engaged.

Kind Sir, I would Enform you that Mr Kirtland is very Sick I fear unto Death this being the 10th Day Since he has been Sick he has been most of the time confined to his bed and is intirely Indisposed for any manner of bussiness whatever. I would also Enform you that I keep Singing School every Evening very full meetings. two of my Scholars are married men, one is Old Enough for my father. they all Learn very fast Booth Singing & Reading. I dont know Sir, when I Shall come home the great men give me leave to go in the Spring. The Small-pox is very Brief in Albany and Schenectady, vast numbers have dyed out of booth places. also; Beasts, they have a Distemper and die daly booth horses and cows. the distemper is almost got up here. the Indian horses fare very heard this Winter, I have Seen where they have gnawed little

Elm trees to Eat the beark thereof. the Indians have given Mr Kirtland Some corn for his Creatures from booth places. Mr Kirtland preached twice here before his Sickness came on, and proposed to come down again but the Self Same week he was taken Sick. Thomas carrys on amongst us now Sabbath-Days. Mr Dodge Enforms me that he opened a school about one week he Says he kept it before Mr Kirtland was Sick and was Obliged to brake up. William keept it Sometime afterwards Last Monday I went in to See the School and Saw vast number of Children in it almost 30 lacking very few, it Seemed as if with pleasure I could wait on Such Number. then I turned my mind and thought of my little number I had at Onoida. yet I think I cant think to have them few as they be. So long as they Seem to be Engaged.

I have nothing more to acquaint you of at present only I want to hear from you my ever hon^d Benefactor as I have not heard any thing from you Since I came from your house.

So Rev^d Sir, I desire Still to be under your direction & advice at all times, as I am not yet capable of manageing myself so I would not undertake anything without your kind advice & approbation. please to Remember me still in your prayers, that God would keep me humble and fill my heart with gratitude booth to Him and to Man. that I may put my whole trust in him booth for Time & Eternity, for in him alone can I be safe amidst ten thousand Malecious Dearts of the Divil. So I would Remain your faithfull and Obedient pupil, and good for nothing not quite Old Indian.

JOSEPH JOHNSON

Onoida february 10th 1768

P.S. This Letter if I may So call it was wrote in hast I dont know as if you can make out to read it if you can I Should be Exceeding glad. not only in hast but under many Disadvantages.

TO THE REV^d DOCT^r WHEELOCK
in N England.

a Grand mistake or reather great mistake, a Letter turned upside down. as I was reading it over I took notice of it not before.

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[1] *"Coarsely-ground Indian corn; also a kind of porridge made from it"* (N.E.D.).

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Kanoarohare April 20th 1768.

REVd *&* HONd DOCTr

My Respects & Regards for you for the many favours which I have Enjoyed Since under your paternal Care Excites in me a kind of gratitude which makes me desireous to Enquire little concerning your Valuble health and together with all this I believe it is my Indispensable Duty to Acquaint you the state of the Indians up here and the school which I keep. Hond Sir. I have not as yet Opened the School at Old Onoida[1] Since I came up last. my Employment has been an Imperfect Interpreter little better then none to your Hond Son. the Indians treat him with great deal of Respects, & say that they do Realy love him, and want that he should stay longer. your Hond Son has been at Onondage and offerd the glad tideings of the gospel of X to them likewise to the Senecas, but has not yet an Answer but they did treat him with more Respect than they had any before him, and desired to have some time to Consider such matter of Importance and promised to give him an Answer within 3 weeks. but has not Received any answer at all. what the Reason is I cant tell. Your son has been under great Disadvantage in this journy & been thro many sorrowfull hour. no one to advise him in Such Important Affair.

I Expect to Open the School next week. I believe that if the Indians now Refuse the Offered gospel it will be wonder if God dont in his anger cut them of from his Earth. I do feel bad for the sake of your son, he has had two or three bad turns since he has been up here. if had not the all supporting grace from on high been his present aid he would probably not be able to go thro his bussiness but God be praised that he has carried him thus far in safety.

Revd Sir I hope that you have had your health allowed to you since I saw you. God be praised that he has helpt me from that distemper which I did so greatly fear. I have Enjoyed my Useless health as Usual. I desire humbly to Recommend myself to your prayers dayly that he would keep me from all sin Especially from pride. I have no more to acquaint you at present. So I Remain your Ignorant Pupil. and good for nothing Black Indian.

JOSEPH JOHNSON

DOCT^r^ WHEELOCK.

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[1] *About six miles from Canajoharie, which was the "new Oneida castle."*

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Kanoarohare. May 2^d^ 1768.

REV^d^ AND HON^d^ DOCT.^r^

I take this Opportunity to Enform you that by the kind and Indulgent providence of God I am well and would hope that by the same goodness you still Enjoy your Valuble Health. I have, not as yet heard any News from Onondage about what they have determined in Embracing the Gospel but the Other day Couple of young Women came from there and Enformed us that no mankind was at home, not So much as the great man; but were all gone a hunting. it looks very discouraging at present amongst the Back nations. I fear that they are too much overcome by french principles (or reather fast in the divils cluches) yet I wonder not, that they dont Embrace the Gospel—they have such good Examples from the *Germans* or *Dutch* and chuse to go to heaven in that way in which they can gratify their vitious and devilish Inclinations. they hear that they must not get drunk if they Embrace the Gosple which your son offered to them; which goes hard against their deep Rooted Appetites but if they continue as they are, they can get drunk and practise all manner of Evil and at last Expect to Enter the long house which the call heaven. Some where towards the south, where the will be free from all pain and have nothing to Exercise their minds—this is the *Heaven* which the french friers have promised them. The Indians in general say that it is vain and talk very discourageing and say that you need not look for them no more; their behaviour Shews Enough that they have Refused.

I have Begun my school the last week, and the Onidas Seem very much to have their minds shattered and in a Ruffel. the great men who are honoured with the Care over the Indians I fear have greatly Erred in some things and let too much of their Cloven foot appear.

I had proposed coming down next week (but Nathan comes in my Room) and bring down *Hannah* & *Catarine* to your school and are Obliged to come before the time your son appointed and for these Reasons. I^t^ that they are quite Uneasy to come down to your School as soon as possible and could by no means wait till *Thomas* and the rest of the *Indians* came down 2^d^ is that they have suspected some Danger that they cant wait and that is, they are affraid of being Bewitched if they stay—and they say if they dont come down to your school they must go somewhere Else. *hannah,* brother and several others, are thretned, likewise the *queen,* and I was advised to go of with them Soon as could be, but the state of things at present I thought Would not Suffer for which Reason Nathan comes down. and other reason his defect & Uncapableness of carriing on the bussiness which he is intrusted with. and many other which he can better acquaint than I can.

We Expect one of the French Ministers here this season—for which Reason I dont love to leave the Indians—I have nothing strange to Acquaint you at present. I shall go with the Indians next week to their hunt (as all My scholars will go) I have only five Scholars, at present and the Oldest is 10 years of age hardly worth staying for. but according to your Sons orders I stay with them; I dont know when I shall come down to make a short vizit. I Seem to be Intirely content to be disposed of as Seems best in your sight. & to be wholly at your disposal. I fare very well at present plenty of pideons in our woods. I want to hear from you My Kind Benefactor (I have been much troubled in dreams concerning you of late. I fear you are not well. but this is too much of my Indian principles.) I feel Sorry about Some things that I did neglect when I was down and have laid with great wait upon my mind Ever since. I fear I did not do my duty in not hearing your kind advice of binding my self to be the Lords however by Gods grace Assisting me I Endeavour to keep my self uspoted from the world and make his word my Rule of Life.

No more at present, but I would desire humbly to recommend myself to your dayly prayers that he would never suffer me to Act or do any thing that will at all disgrace the Cause or the Religion of Christ. & to keep me humble, keep me from pride and all high thoughts of myself. is the dayly prayer of your poor pupil and Humble servant

JOSEPH JOHNSON

Kanoarohare May 2^{d} *AD* 1768.

P.S. please sir to overlook my hast, and the many Blunders which I suppose are in this paper. I have no time to write it over or correct it. dont Expose it. so I remain your Humble Servant

JOSEPH JOHNSON

M^{r} ELEAZAR WHEELOCK D.D.

Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

(Sept. 24, 1768)

Pittsfield in Boston government.

Ever Hond and much Respected Sir.

With Humility, I desire to Subscribe myself your ever humble pupil, Hond Sir I have but just time to let you know that through the care and protection of a kind and Indulgen God we have thus far arrived, we have been here this is the second day we have rested by Reason of the Stormy weather. This day is likwise Stormy but Mr Johnson thinks it such affair of great Importance that we are about to set of. this is Indeed a very pleasent place, a people Exceeding kind I have no more time to write, please Sir to Excuse my Brevity. I am in good state of Health and I hope that you are. I have had the Honour of Seeing the paper of Subscription or vote for your Acadamy and it amounts of above 2 hundred pounds, Cash, Besides great trac of Land[1] They Enform me that there is two more papers about the Town so that they Say it Exceds 6 or 7 hundred pounds. I cant write no more in great hast from your Ever dutifull and most Obedient and Humble pupil

Joseph Johnson

P.S. please Sir to Remember me in your prayer, day by that God would keep me Intirely contint in the Disposals of his Providence.

Joseph Johnson

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[1] *Offered to Wheelock as an inducement to settle his proposed college in Massachusetts. Many such offers were made by officials and landowners in Albany, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.*

Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Barrucks Hill Septr 27

REVD & EVER HOND DOCTR

I desire once more to write to you and desire once more to acquaint your Honour that We have thro the kindness of that ever good God who is good, Even to the Evil and Unthankful got on our journey thus far, that we Expect tomorrow to git there where the Indians are meet. we are Acquainted that they are not yet meet, but are gethering. I have much to say, but no time to write much. I have kind Sir thus far Enjoyed my health as Usial. I desire Humbly to Acquaint you that I am Under great disadvantage that I cant get the things that I stand in great need of, by Some means or another. Because you did not give any Orders of So doing or Express Order, for Every articul; so that it is likely I shall suffer. I have not as yet, been trusted with one Copper not So much as in sight, much more when I shall be out of sight; it hurts me very much, as I have not yet been lavish of any of Christ money, or been found Dishonest. Desire most Humbly to leave it to you if I have so done I think it not strange or ask Mr Kirtland if I Ever proved dishonest to any of the Money He has from to time trusted me with, or to your Honoured son whether he was acquainted by any one when he was up here. if so I desire to Be content under a punishment which I justly deserve. I am fully Determined henceforth to leave myself to that ever good God who has hitherto guided my doubtfull paths, I feel quite Content as to that affair when I sat of. I never came of with so much Reluctance before. but it was merely for wont of Consideration. and Reflexion of the many favours I have hitherto been the Subject of. How in the Maze of fate I have blindly Run and backward trod those paths I sought to Shun. I have no more time to write. But to humbly Recommend my self to your Prayers dayly that I may be made humble and be Keept from all that will be dishonour to His Grate Name. forgive my Brevity, and all that Seems to be out of a wrong Spirit in this Litter. No more, but desire to subscribe myself your Ever humble, and Obedient (tho Hitherto contrary) Pupil, tho ignorant. (JOSEPH JOHNSON)

PS please Sir to give my duty to your Hond. Son. no more. Ut ante.

To
REVD. DOCTR. WHEELOCK

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Providence Decembr 28th 1768

REVD AND EVER HONOURED DOCTR

forgive me for my Repeated presumtion in Writing to you. But this once more give me leave to acquaint you my Once kind Binefactor, the Case I at present am in. But as I have so often been found deceitfull I know not as you will have patiance to Read over this my pretended Confession, as I said, Seeing I have showed so much Deceitfullness in my pretentions & undertakings, Since I have been Capable of being Improved in some good way: But for Grant—Which was to Betake myself—I know not, I am at a stand. hond Sir, to return to you whom I have so greatly grieved, I dare not; I am ashamed, & Concience stings me to the veary heart; I am Sorry; my Sperits cast down, Methinks I feel in Some Measure the down Cast Spirits of Cain when He received his curse; but no Equal to his; tho my Crimes are more than Equal, the thoughts of your School haunts my Mind dayly, and to turn my face that way I dare not. I see nothing but my Actions in the deepest dye of Ingratitude stare me in the face which Causes my heart to faint Under the thoughts of Returning; but what Course to take, I know that god is Everywhire, and is Acquainted with Actions past, and will punish without Mercy those that Be Disobedient to his Laws and Commandments Er long. But how, it seems as if there was some probability, some glimpse of hope yet, Some way of Being Recovered from this Unhappy State. Tho at other times all hopes Vanish and lave me under the Unfortunate Circumstances of a Disolate Mind, which Roams at large with an Unsteady temper. Once this Course of Life, at another that, but all seem to yield no Comfort nor Satisfaction to my distitute condition. But this encourages me at this time to make this feeble Attempt, that you are ready to forgive when you see a true Real and hearty sorrow for there Misconduct. But how can I make my sorrow Credible—which none can Believe, but those that take Notice of me & see it in my Countinence which is Sad dayly upon the thoughts of my past Behaviour with how little consideration have I spent my past time little caring whether I did any good or no Either to my self or any One Else. this I am sensable that your kind disposition towards the Indians is very Great, neither am I less Sinsable that my Ungratfull, & Vitious Actions deserve Gods and your highest Displeasure:—it seems that I am forced to try the best Endeavours in Order to get my self Once more under your kind direction tho I Undergo Ever so much that I Might at last attain my End; tho you sentance me to Ever so severe punishment, or Even Banish me to the Unknown Corner of ye world. yet I Believe I will wholly Leave my self to your Intire disposal. had you punished me Ever so severe and afterwards. sent or Bound me to an austere man. I should not have been so Uncomfortable—for then I should have been in my duty but now seeme to be lost no one to order or direct me, but wholly trust to giddy chance of fate. It is neither for want of Improvement, nor for want of good living (for both of these I have) or of Induring hardships (for I do live well and Easy as Ever I did during my whole Life) that I want to Return to you. but Intirely Because I am not in my duty or in the way that God Requires.

Good God seems to be yet lenghtening out his mercy to me, tho I have so Openly Rebeled against Him, and has graciously guided my Doubtfull steps and has kept me In good health, and not only that but has this once more put me under an advantage of gaining Instruction. Here I am Under the Roof of the sarvant of God, by whose kind advice, admonition, and precaution, Restrained me from sea faring way which if I persued, would Beyound all doubt been the Ruin of me both for time & Eternity. here he has persuaded me to stay and given me the Priviledge of his Library out of which this winter I hope to gain Instruction. here I am Under great advantage of getting knowledge, tho far Short of what I could get at your house. where I was as it were dayly Under the dropings of the Sanctuary. What would I give Even all that I have or all that my care or Industry would gain Could I Recall these fatal hours which I consumed in sensless vanities for now they Increase and Urge my pain and trouble my Rest, Rest I have none in my Mind. I am dayly Vext with myself for my Wickedness I am Sensable that I have been guilty of the most heinous Sins which has hurt and Wounded the Redeemers Cause and been of great disadvantage to your school and disgrace to the Religion of Christ. altho great part has been by those who wished me well and had tender Regards for me, Upon my promising a thurrow Reformation, has been Concealed. to my sorrow and Shame do I now Confess them. Once, twice, yea three times have I Indulged myself in Brutish Ease whilst in the wilderness, first Accidently and can well answer for it. Second on purpose perhaps can as well answer for that, the Third and the Only one (Besides that of the last fall which you have already had an Account of) was taken notice of By the Indians which was occasioned by the temptation of the Devil and together with the distresses of my mind and Uneasiness which perhaps you are altogether Ignorant of or any one Else besides the Indians. which by ye advice of Thomas I publickly made Confession as is their custom. where they promised as it were to Bury in Oblivion and let things be as if it never happened so. that of the last fall I can say no more than has already been said of it. these taken in Rank has been my

Misconduct & Ruin. as well as in many other which are well known to you. I am sensable but too late tis no advantage to cover things under deceit, as to any more of my crimes they have perhaps already shewn themselves or will Eer long.—Thus have I in few faint words tryed to Communicate my thoughts to you, with hopes and raised Expectations of being favourd with an answer. Tho I dont deserve the least Notice or Regards taken of what I write or say, yet this Once grant that my mind may be at Ease in some measure Either so much condesend as to give me a word of Incouragement. which will afresh Revive my Drooping spirits and kindle a new flame of Gratitude in me, in which way might kind heaven grant I might End my days. But if on the other hand which I most justly deserve, that you would turn a deaf Ear to my humble petition as I did to your most kind advices warnings, and Labours of love for my own good and none Else the Returns of the same is what I fear and justly Expect. if this Would Be the Event, I must in silence depart, and weep with a Bitter cry as Esau when he lost his Blessing. Then should I in sadness spend the Remainder of my days, and would kind Heaven grant, that I might be prepared to die; and then kindly put an end to my Misereys. Hond Sir: Should I say that this was from the Boottom of my Heart, perhaps like the Rest would be full of Deceit, but I shall no longer trouble you with the Unhappy Subject. I would just Enform you that through the Boundless Goodness of God I have Enjoyed my Unprofitable health, and I hope that God has Indulged you with your health as Usual. I am so guilty that I have no heart to write any more only this whether I shall be so happy as to be Indulged with a word of Incouragement, or so Unhappy as to Intirely Excluded I humbly Beg that you would Be so kind as to send me a word of answer Between this and the spring if you please So as I might be assured one way or the other. pardon me if I have wrote any thing that seem to have an air of pride for I feel much otherwise disposed. these few Lines with my best wishes for the prosperity of all your Vast Undertakings I humbly Recommend to your wise Consideration and now suffer me the honour of subscribing myself your once humble servant tho more the devils

JOSEPH JOHNSON

TO THE REVD DOCTR ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

Now living at providence at Dr Samuel Carews[1] an Inholder west side of the Great Bridge.

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[1] *Doctor Samuel Carew, "who not only dispensed pills and practical physic at his sign of the pestle and mortar, but kept a tavern known as "The Travellers," and ran a livery-stable as well" (Kimball, 202).*

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Samuel Kirkland to Eleazar Wheelock

Onoida 29th *Decm* 1768

REV^d & HON^d DOCTOR

You was pleas'd to inform me of y^r Sorrow for Joseph Johnson's desertion . . . I can't say—I am not sorry too,—but I think upon y^e whole, it is better so than worse.—He might have continued several years longer in your Employ, under pretence of regard to you & y^r Cause; & at y^e same time actually in y^e Devils service.—Elder Joseph & Prophet Nathan kept their strumpets here nigh two months last spring—drank up near three Gall^n of wine (sent up for me in my sickness) & between 6 & 7 Gall^n of Rum disposed of some househould furniture & wasted no small quantity of provisions.

The Virtual Elder—being given much to pride & vainglory bo't a number of trinkets to please his refin'd curiosity & adorn his strumpet—for obtaing w^c he very artfully procur'd an Order from Capt Butler, & has took y^e value of 40/ on my acct.—It seems he is fond of Changes—weary w^h y^e form of y^t old fashiond

Thing calld puritanic Relig^{n} he turn'd pagan for about a week —painted, sung—danc'd—drank & whor'd it, w^{h} some of y^{e} savage Indians he cou'd find—his name stinks from Kanajohare to Fort-Stanwix—even every rode smells strong of his pride falsehood & diabolical Conduct . . . he has also said for the vindication of his concubinage—y^{t} M^{r} Wheelock did not forbid him during his residence here last spring.

I tho't it a point of Justice to give two of his shirts to a family at Onoide where he lived.—his shoes to Peter—w^{h} a p^{r} of coarse Stockens

Your obed^{t} Sev^{t}

S. KIRTLAND

* * *

Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

MUCH RESPECTED, AND EVER HONOURED DOCTOR.

I have made this attempt once more to Approach Thy Dwellings, and now desire with all humbleness of mind that Thy Not Displeasure may not be Risen against me, altho I have So much Deserved it. most Hond Sir, I came up to petition to you my Ever Hond Benefactor, that as my mind is wholly Bent from here, that thou would So much Condescend as to discharge one from Under you If you please, which being my great Concern that I might first git you leave to tarry at my own home and get myself in Steady way of living. which without your leave I must be always roaving about, most hond Sir, please to grant this my humble pitition, and I do now humbly desire to Return you most hearty thanks for your many labours of Love Shewn to me Since my Infancy and under your most kind protection. I acknowledge that they have been many & great favours Indeed, and also Acknowledge that my Ingratitude and Unthankfullness have Exceeded them. and now

Be pleased to forgive what I have done and bury me in deep forgetfullness and Remember me no more, Seing I have done so much wickedness that I dare not approach thy presence, O, be not angry with me for that, But ferrgive what you have seen amiss in you Ever Humble petitioner, and wicked servant

JOSEPH JOHNSON

TO THE EVER HOND DOCTR WHELLOCK

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An Account of Certain Exhortations

Joseph Johnson says, that Nov. 1771. there was a meeting in the evening at Mohegan, at Joseph Johnson's.—Henry, an Indian, spoke first concerning the goodness of God in sending his son into the world for us sinners, more especially God's goodness in making himself known to us poor Indians. He wondered at the young folks, that notwithstanding the offers of salvation on so easy terms, they chose rather the pleasures of flesh and sense before the service of God; and desired to be remembered, when he is dead and gone, of what he in so broken a manner said. Samuel Ashpo spoke next, inviting all to set their mind heavenward, and he spoke of the glories of heaven, as sat forth in the Holy Bible. John Nanepome spoke last; had a long discourse about a regenerate man; how that he bears God on his mind in all his actions, and continually lives in fear of sin; the privileges of the children of God, that they can go to God as to a father, who is able to help;—what great encouragement it was to Christians to think, that Christ was interceding for us in heaven, & that we were every one to suffer for our own actions, and can't lay it to the fault of another in our eternal damnation at last;—how that every thing stands ready for the ruin of man. He showed the danger of living without God in the world; that the Devil is always with us ready to tempt us into sin, and ready to snatch us away every moment. To young folks he said, though you contradict us, you can't contradict God, who takes an account of all your actions. He said it was good for them to come to meeting and not follow the multitude, for there were but few that worship the true God. Sunday Nov. 3^{d}. 1771. Samuel Ashpo, an Indian, delivered a short discourse at Mohegan, in the forenoon, about the voice of one crying in the wilderness; in the afternoon he spoke chiefly about the latter Day; how many of the things were fulfilled, which were foretold about the coming of our Lord to judgment, and that his hearers were soon to expect the Lord, and advised them to prepare for that great and solemn day, which will surely and shortly come, when we must give an account of all our actions, whether good or evil, and so be rewarded according to our behavior. Nov. 9 1771 Joseph Johson, 21 years old, writes "considerable snow on the face of the earth. But as the sun riseth, it vanisheth. So may the Sun of Righteousness arise to our benighted souls with healing in his wings, and may all sin vanish from before our eyes much faster, than the snow before the sun." Nov. 10, 1771. Sunday, he says that he spent the afternoon in reading the scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation, "and the evening I spent in reading the sermons, which taught the nature of the saint's rest, and the misery of those, that lose the saints' rest, and the manner, in which Christ & at his second coming will appear, to the great joy of the true believer and the terror of those, to whom he will come unexpectedly."

The discourse seemed to come home to my very heart, and was such a living truth, that it seemed to me to be the most necessary thing for me to be busy about the business of the eternal world of spirits, to which I am daily hastening, and to begin to work out my salvation with fear and trembling, as I am expressly orderd by the word of God, and to live as in the sight of God, and to wait for the second coming of my Judge, and to prepare for that solemn day, which is certainly coming upon this wicked world, which is certainly coming upon this wicked world. Oh, that the grace of God through Jesus Christ might enable me to keep this my resolution till his second coming.

Nov. 12, 1771. This morning arose quite sensible of the wickedness of my heart, how that it is full of evil continually devising of wicked things—that every thought is sinful. My mind is continually about carnal things, though I know a carnal mind is enmity against God and without holiness no man shall see the Lord. And here I see the necessity of applying to Christ for a new heart; a heart to praise him, which can be sensible of his blood as freely spilt for me, and give me new dispositions of mind and understanding in his holy scriptures, which must be the rule and guide of my life. Oh that he might open my eyes to see my misery while out of him; how that I am daily and hourly exposed to divine vengeance. And may the grace of God through Jesus Christ so enable me to live, as that I may be hereafter numbered with those few, who have left all for Christ.

Nov. 13, 1771. *This night began to call upon the name of* the Lord.

Nov. 14, 1771. This morning, after I had done the few necessaries about house, I read the Holy Scriptures and then prayed to the most High God, even to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that he would make me a new creature, a true worshipper of the only living and true God.

O, the folly of wickedness indeed, as it is hurtful to the body and much more to the never dying soul! O, why is my soul so secure? Has it finished its work, which is assigned it in the world? Has it built upon a right foundation, or has Satan led thee away captive at his will? Hast thou chosen the pleasures of time and sense before the glories of another world? Examine yourself to these matters and know thou thy condition.

Nov. 24, 1771. Oh! poor soul! I am blind, stupid, void of all spiritual life, dead in trespasses and sins. Oh! when shall it be once thought of me, that I am converted, and call Christ Jesus my Savior, and God my father, and the Holy Ghost my comforter? Behold, to myself is known, that a great change must be wrought.

I must be born again, I must repent of all my wickedness, and must hate sin in the perfect hatred. I must see my danger, and Christ Jesus must seem precious to my soul, and I must be willing to part with all things here below, if so I may win Christ; and if I mean to find Jesus Christ, I must search for him as for hid treasure and desire the knowledge of him more than silver or gold. And now have I done any of this sincerely, as in the sight of an all seeing God? Have I departed from all iniquity to serve the only living and true God? If I have not, may the Lord Jesus Christ grant, I now may begin, while it is called today. I read the New Testament chief of this day.

January 2, 1772. One may be well lost in wonder, if he will only recall to mind the many accidents that he has been delivered from, which might prove fatal. For my part I have great reason to thank God, who overrules all events, that I am yet alive, though I have been where dangers were and great dangers too the year past. I have been preserved on the mighty waters, and been kept safe from the rage of the great whales, who obey his voice, and many other dangers. Grant, O thou only living and true God, that my poor feeble thoughts of serving thee may be blest. Grant me the knowledge of myself, and grant, that I may know Jesus Christ, the only way of salvation. O, lord Jesus, be pleased to create in me a clean heart, and wash me clean in thine own blood, and send thy spirit to sanctify and purify my heart, and make me thy true disciple and witness.

This Joseph Johnson seems to have been converted to God about this time at Mohegan, and was afterwards a witness of Christ, a Preacher and a Missionary.[1]

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[1] *This manuscript is not in Joseph Johnson's handwriting.*

Joseph Johnson to Inquiring Friends

To all Enquiring friends, or to all Strangers, that may Cast their Curious but dying eyes upon these lines. disdain not the feble attempt of a Poor Indian. who wishes well, to all mankind. wishes the well being of mortels, in this World; but above all Sincerely desires their well being in the World to Come. but O! friend would you know more Concerning me, I am, kind friend, an Indian of the Mohegan tribe, known by the name of *Joseph Johnson,* and at present I am Employed by the Honorable Board of Commissionaries at Boston, in teaching Children. I keep a School at Farmington amongst my Indian Brethren. and it is to be hoped that I maintain a Good Character both among the English and also among my brethren, as perhaps, kind friend, you might easily be satisfied, if you Enquire a little of my Character, where I am known.

As for my Great Undertaking, I can assure you it was not the Purpose of my heart; till of late. my dear friend, let me freely tell you. That I *was 21 years in this World, before I was born.* and as Soon as I was born, & had my Eyes Opened, I Saw the World, as it were full of Secure Souls. and I could not forbear, but I lifted up my infant voice directly, and Called upon my fellow mortals. diclosed unto them their great danger. and Endeavoured to direct them to him, who alone was able to join them. Even to Jesus Christ. and my friend, let me tell you that my feble voice has been heard in different Towns. I am one who was Called, by the poor Children of men whom I love, and pity from the bottom of my heart. I saw I *was called by them a Separate, a new light.*[1] true, my dear friend, I humbly know I had *new light given me.* for I viewed all things in a very diffirent light. and all those things in which my very heart was unreasonably Sot. I viewed to be altogether Vanity. oh my friend, all temporal things methought were hardly worthy of my notice. as for my being a Seperate, I have reason to mourn that I never answered no better to this blessed Character. tho the worldings Call Christian, so by way of Derision. yet I Count myself blessed, if I at last shall be numbered with the *true* Seperates. oh my dear friend, let me persuade you to read these Words of Comfort for a poor despised Seperate. Wherefore, Come out among them, and be ye *Seperate,* saith the Lord, and touch not the Unclean thing: and I will recieve you and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons, and daughters saith the Lord Almighty 11 Cor.VI 17.18.

but my friend, least I weary you, I will think a little of Conclusion. but let me tell you, before I let you go. that I am but one year and three months old properly. and my friend, you Cant expect that, in such a short time. I have arrived to manhood. No. I confess, I am but a child in the knowledge of Jesus my Lord. and a babe in Understanding. neither do I Speak, whin I have a Call, with a vain Conceit of being Endowed with a Superior Understanding in anything. no. neither have I any wordly Gain in in view. no. but I am labouring for a Crown of Righteousness, which was laid up for Saint Paul.11. Timothy 12.8. henceforth, there is laid on for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the Righteous Judge shall give me at that Day. and not to me only, but unto all them also that Love his appearing. these are the words of St. Paul. and my friend, as I have said in times past, So I now declare unto you again that I have no other View but the Honour & Glory of God & the salvation of Precious and Immortal Souls. if I have become greatly Mistaken. & may the Lord in infinite mercy through Jesus Christ forgive me. and truly, give me to (—?) no other view. But to Conclude may God give me all needed grace, & wisdom, that I may live to his honour, & glory in this lower World, & be beneficiall to mankind in my day. and when I come to finish my Course may I have the Peace of Christ. So as I may die in Peace and when I shall stand before the Lord the Righteous Judge may I give up my account with joy, find favour and be recieved up in glory. and in the glorious morning of the Resurection.

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[1] *i.e., a member of an insurgent, and fanatical, Dissenting group.*

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Farmington

30th of *August*, A. D. 1773.

REVD. & MUCH RESPECTED SIR.

With much humility. I undertake to Write to your worthy Person. and I would Enform you that I ever have a gratefull Sense of your favours in time past. for which I desire at this time to express my thanks. if I was an Englishman, & was thus Respected by you. I should be very thankful, but much more doth it now, become me being an Indian. to be humble. & very thankfull in very deed. Methinks the more I am Respected the more humble it makes me. but to Conclude this my Indian introduction let me assure you. that a law of Gratitude is wrote as it were upon the table of my Own Savage heart. for all your Remarkable favours in times Past. & I ever think of your Worthy Person with love & Reverence in my heart. But whot I would more perticularly inform you at this time is whot may follow. Revd Sir. by leave of Kind Providence. I purpose to Leave this Place next Monday being the time appointed that I & the rest of the Chosen men. Should go into the Wilderness, to vizit our Savage Brethren. and to Converse with them Concerning our Proposals.[1] &c: and as the time is drawing nigh. I find I am Obliged to Solicit your favour this once more. for which I am very Sorry. I am Sorry to try your good Nature So Soon. But Still I would humbly. & Eearnestly Solicit your favour at this time. I was Considerably disoppointed down County, not seeing Mr. Occom whose note I have with me Still. also 2 English friends added Disoppointments to me. not leting me have my Reasonable due. their Plea was this that they did not expect I should return till next Winter or in Spring. So they thought it best to lay out the money. intending to allow for Use. but not to be further tedious. my Earnest desire is that you would help me to Some Money. I know not who else Can. I am a Stranger, but as for my Indian friends,. if I lean upon them at present they are like a broken stoff. but I have nothing agains my Brethren. they have a will. had they but ability, and if you Please to pity. & to help me at this time you have no reason to fear. but that you Shall have your own. again in due time. if I return well. perhaps. I shall recieve money from down Country by last of October. then I will pay you reasonable due. but if any accident happens to me So as that I shall never return. Still you need not fear, as doubtless you know. that my reward from Boston will Come into your hands. So you then can take your Money again. Please to help me if Possible. I know not exactly how much I Stand in need of. but I Should be glad to have a little to Spare, not knowing whot may befall me by the way. I shal in Some measure be exposed to Smallpox. by the way, & how many more Accident. I know not. I view myself to be feble Creature, if I Should have the Smallpox. I Should at least want 8 or 9 Pounds of money. but hoping I Shall Escape that danger our Distemper. I Shall be glad to have Six Pounds if Possible, doubtless we Shall be obliged to lay out Some money. besides our bare expences, by the way.

(No signature)

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[1] *i.e., to treat with the Oneidas for a tract of land to accommodate the New England Christian Indians.*

Joseph Johnson to Inquiring Friends

Would you know kind Sir, who the composer of this Discourse is. Be pleased to read the following. I am an Indian of the mohegan Tribe, known by the Name of Joseph Johnson. Educated by the Rev^{d} Eleazer Wheelock D.D. whose School I lift when I was 15 *(or 14?)* years of age, and in the 3d month of my 16th *(or 15?)* year, I was Sent amongst the Six nations and I spent about 2 years in those Parts, keeping School. afterward, I left the school intirely Revd Eleazer Wheelock D.D. intirely. and from that time, I been wandering up, and down, in this Delusive World. Some of my time I Spent at Providence Town. keeping a School. Some of my time, I have Spent upon the Ocean wide. I have been down Eastward, as far as to the Western Islands, twice Curvo, & florus, I have Seen (—?) and to the Southward I have been as far, to the West Indies. Seen also the Islands between Antigua and Granades. and again from antigua I have Sailed down leward Sailed by the Virgin Islands, also by Sandy cruize, Portireco. down as far is to mona, and after So long time Even in my 21st year I Safely arrived to my Native place. their I Spent one year in working upon my farm.

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Joseph Johnson to Andrew Oliver[1]

Hartford. October 10 AD 1773.

TO THE HONORABLE ANDREW OLIVER ESQ^{r}

With a due sense of my great unworthiness, I attempt to write to your Worthy Person at this time; Hon^{d} Sir, this afternoon I came down here to this Town to get my watch which I left here some time past to be repaired being considerable damaged. and finding an Opportunity to Send to your Honour, I with much thankfullness do Embrace it. I would enform your Honor that the School which is under my Care at present is in good Circumstances. the Children are well and are very tractable, or they learn very fast, Considering chief of them are Young, 5, 7, 10, 13 years of Age. &c: also I would enform your Honor, that the School has been kept very Steady. and I have endeavoured to be faithfull to all with whom I have to do. both Parent, & Child. also the Parents have Sent very Steady, and highly Esteem the great Previledge which kind Providence is at present favouring them with. and we all humbly hope that our Previledge will be graciously Continued to us poor Unworthy, Ignorant, and Despised Indians. we hope that Your Honour, has Remembered us, amidst your Crowd of important Business. also we hope that the Honourable Board of Commissionaries has Considered our humble Petition, and we hope still than an Answer of Joy will be sent us in due time. Hond Sir. We are the Same as ever we was. Objects of Pity. the Indians are very desirious to learn. But not to be too tedious, Suffer me to Conclude this my Indian Epistle with a humble Petition to your Honour. Worthy Sir. be pleased to Consider me; I have kept this School 6 months already, and I have made out to live hitherto, but I have been obliged to borrow a little; altho it is not Customary to lend to an Indian in these Parts, but I have behaved myself as well as I could and People thinks that I am honest, and have ventured to help me little. but Hond Sir, I dare not ask there favours any more; but I am obliged to Seek your Honors favour. Hon^d Sir, I confess I am Poor Indian, a fatherless, and Motherless, and almost friendless Lad. Yet I want to live, and I want to live honestly. if it is not my Calling to teach my Poor Ignorant Brethren the Indians whom I love, & Pity. I will not Crowd myself into the business. but if it be my Calling, and Duty, I must beg to live by it, or have Suitable help and Encouragement—from Somewhere. all I want is things Convenient. that I may give myself to the Service Chearfully. and Hon^{d} Sir, as I Said just now that I have made out to live hitherto, So now I say that unless your Honor is pleased to Pity me, and help me I can not live any longer in this Business, but I must break off and go into Some other Calling in order to clear my Self of little Debts which I have necessarily contracted the Season past. I have no pleasure in being trusted, neither is it honourable. So Hon^d Sir, my humble and Earnest Desire is that your Honour would be pleased to Send me half years Pay if possible, or if it has pleased the Gentlemen to allow me any thing for Encouragement, to keep this School. Hon^d Sir, without doubt that the Rev^d Mr. Pitkin my Kind & faithful Overseer would write in my favour if he had Opportunity. I was at his House last Thursday Evening, and Enquired of him whether he had recieved any News from your Honour Concerning our Petition, or Concerning this School, he told me that he had not recieved one word from your honour Concerning us Indians. I acquainted him of my Circumstances at present, and he Said he would Join and write in my favour again if there was any going from hence to Boston. I enquired little but heard of no one, that was going to Boston. So kind Sir I hope that you will not be angry with me, in Undertaking to write to you myself. I know that I am an Indian. but having an Opportunity, I thought it my Duty to ask for the thing that I do really stand in great need of. be pleased to Send the Money for which I Earnestly Request, by the Boston Post. with whom I send these few lines. but if there is nothing allowd for my Encouragement be so kind, and Condescending as to let me know it by this Post next Saturday as I purpose to meet him here again on that Day if I am well. I am Sorry that I have troubled you so often with my Requests, but I hope that hereafter I Shall know what to depend upon, forgive me, for whatever I have at any time wrote unbecoming to you Honour, and charge it to my Ignorance. So I must End wishing you, and yours Prosperity in this Life, and perfect felicity in the Mansions of Bliss hereafter.

I am your humble Petitioner

JOSEPH JOHNSON *the Mohegan*

[1] *Oliver was an important figure in the early history of Moor's Charity School, as treasurer of the Boston (London) Board and also as secretary of the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay. (See Appendix B, 301-302, for his disbursements to the school.)*

The Brothertown Settlement

The Brothertown *settlement in the Oneida country (New York) was composed of New England Christian Indians from the towns of Charlestown, Groton, Stonington, Niantic, Farmington, Montauk, and Mohegan. Samson Occom, Joseph Johnson, and David Fowler were leading figures in the emigration. On March 13, 1773, the New England Indians decided to send representatives to inspect a likely tract in New York, and in October, 1773, Joseph Johnson and Elijah Wampy of Farmington met five Oneida representatives at Johnson Hall, and were promised a tract of some ten miles. In January of 1774 the Oneidas promised a still larger tract, and on October 4 deeded a tract to the New England Indians. In the spring of 1775 some Indians (how many is not known) emigrated to the new country, from which they were driven during the Revolution. In 1783 they returned to New York, and in 1788 the Oneidas deeded to them and to the Stockbridge Indians, who had joined the movement, certain tracts. In 1818 some of the Stockbridge Indians removed to White River, Indiana. In 1821 the New England Indians bought a tract, said to have contained two million acres, from Wisconsin tribes, and soon thereafter removed to that state, where they became involved with the Wisconsin tribes and the United States Government in litigation which lasted throughout the century. (Love, from whom this information is taken, gives a detailed account of the movement.)*

Extract from the Indian Records

1773–*October* 15the–

Five Onoidas arrived at Johnson Hall with an answer to Sir William Johnson's Message sent to them by Saghaugarat one of their Chiefs about ten days ago, concerning the New England Indian's Intentions of removing to this part of the Country provoided the Six Nations would give them a Tract of Land to live on, of about ten Miles Square. To which they Answered that at a full Council of all their People, and Warriors &c: they agreed to what Sir William had proposed, and begged that he would tell such of the New England Indians as were expected soon here, that as their Young men were now going on the *Hunt,* and would not return 'till after the New Year, they should return from hence, and acquaint their People that the Onoidas were ready to comply with their Request, and would be glad to see them in their Nation on their Return from Hunting, when they would shew them a Place to settle on, which if they did not like, they would give them liberty to chuse a Place that might be more agreeable. They then concluded telling Sir William that the Chiefs, and Warriors begged his Advice in the Affairs, which he promised to afford them when they met in the Winter.

Ordered them Ammunition, Provision, and a little Cash to carry them back.

Delivered a Belt and three Strings of
Wampum in Return.

A true Copy from the Records.
Exd. by me
G. JOHNSON, *D. Agt. as Secretary.*

A true Copy from the Extract, which I recieved from the Honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet, at Johnson hall. October 27th

1773. Wrote by me Joseph Johnson, an Indian of the Mohegan Tribe, at Dartmouth College this twenty third day of August AD 1774. at the desire of my Honored Patron, the Reverend Eleazer. Wheelock, D.D. and President of Dartmouth College.

A true Copy, examined, & attested by me
Dartmouth College August 25th 1774.

SILVANUS RIPLEY[1]

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[1] *At this time, tutor at Dartmouth College. He was born Sept. 29, 1749, at Halifax, Mass., and was a graduate of the first class from Dartmouth College (1771). In 1772 he visited Canada and returned with ten Indian boys. From 1775-79 he taught at the school, from 1772-82 was a tutor in the college, and a trustee from 1775-87. He was also minister of the college church at Hanover (1779-87), and professor of theology (1782-87). He died at Hanover, Feb. 5, 1787.*

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"To the Indians Concerning Oneida Lands—To All, Who are truely Engaged in the Mohawk Affair."

Farmington. December 24th, AD 1773.

Our dear. & well beloved Brethren. we wish you all well. your good. as well as our own. lies near at heart. and we wish you. and yours the same Prosperity. as ourselves.—

But not to be tedious in our Introduction. we will let you know our Design. & desire. in Sending to you this once more. Our dear brethren. seeing that the time is nigh at hand. that those chosen men. or others in there room. should go forth. into the Western Country. according to the appointment of his Honour S.r William Johnson. Baronet. and the desire of the Onoida Indians. We say that the time is almost Come. Seeing then it is so nigh. we thought proper. to send to you our dear Brethren this once more. humbly, and earnestly desiring that ye would consider of things. and by all means Let one out of each Town. or Tribe go up to the Mohawk Country. what can we say more. we have used all proper means yea we have been much concerned concerning you our dear Brethren. and we are Sorry. to See. So much Coldness. Lukewarmness. and indifferency. amongst you. as ye have discovered. since last march. 1773. what shall we think of you. if ye do not send one out of Each Town. or Tribe. Yea. what will General Johnson think of you. and what will the Indians under his Special Inspection think of you, who hath, by the Great Influence of his Honor Sir William given us great. and unexpected Encouragement. We pray you to consider of things Seriously.

True. it is. that we are under a great disadvantage. by such a great body of Snow. which is upon the face of the Earth. which Will hinder us. from making a proper observation on the land given to us. yet let not the present Snow Stop you by no means. tho we cant See the Land as we wish we could, yet we can converse with our Western Brethren, the Onoidas. about the Land. yea it is highly necessary that we go. and talk with our distant friends. and hear for ourselves. and See how those Indians are disposed toward us. and recieve further orders or advise from our Great friend the Honorable. Sir William Johnson. Baronet. Yea we think we could do much. by this Winters Journey. we could do so much as that we need not go up again. untill we go to Settle the Land. Yea, we could have the Land Secured to us. as the Indians will think proper. to grant us. be it more or Less. Our friends,. if ye had not agreed to Send one out of Each Tribe last Spring. we would not have Sent to you So often. but we are hoping that ye will not be angry with us. Seeing that we have acquainted General Johnson, Several times. what we agreed last Spring. at Mohegan and Sir William doth certainly expect you. or one out of Each Tribe by all means at this time. he told us when we were at his house. the Indians would think Strange if only two or three came up to the Congress. when Six or Seven were expected. General Johnson told us. that he Sent a word to them Indians telling them. that one out of Each Tribe was Coming to Converse with them. and they Expect us. all. by the 10th Day of January next. So how

can ye help yourselves. Can ye deny that ye promised to Send one out of Each Tribe. must we let the World know that we are Indians by Nature. & by Practice, but we must End. beging. intreating. and humbly beseeching you all Our dear Brethren to do those things which are right. which are praise Worthy. Do those things which become men. do those things which become Christians.
So fare you well. we wish you well. and We expect at least Some young men from Each town. by the first day of January next. which will be on Saturday. So on the first Monday. of January we purpose to Set off. but with what face. can we go alone again. O friends we hardly dare to go alone again. Consider us. Consider yourselves consider of General Johnson. Consider of the Mohawks. &c: thus much at present from us Your Brethren at Farmington.

JOSEPH JOHNSON
SOLOMON MASSUCK
ELIJAH WIMBY
DANIEL MASSUCK
ANDREW CON COMP
SOLOMON ADAMS
DAVID ROBIN

TO ALL INDIANS AT NIHANTUCK. MOHEGAN. GROTTON. STONINGTON. NARRAGANSET. AND LONG ISLAND. OR AT MONTAUK.

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Joseph Johnson's Speech to the Oneidas

(KANOAROHARE JANUARY THE 20TH AD 1774)

Our dear and well beloved Brethren it is with much pleasure that we see so many of you assembled together at this time and upon this Occasion, we give you our great respects and sincere love, we look upon you at present as upon an elder Brother as a Nation, and beloved Brethren, we pray you to consider of us and harken to us, as to a younger Brother, not only consider of us as two Persons, but view us to be speaking, or acting for all our Brethren in New England, or at least for seven Towns. We pray you to consider seriously of our Words, ye old men who are wise, also ye warriors, and stout hearted young men listen unto us, yea let Children harken, that what we say may not soon be forgotten. Brethren in the first place we will acquaint you of the State and Circumstances of our New England Brethren, and also we will inform you of our proceedings hitherto. Brethren we in New England, or at least many of us are very poor, by reason of the Ignorance of our forefathers who are now dead. Brethren ye know that the English are a very wise people, and can see great ways. but some says, that the Indians can see but little ways. and we believe that our forefathers could not see but very little ways. Brethren, ye also know that some of the English loves to take the advantage of poor, Ignorant, and blind Indians. Well so it was in the days of our forefathers in New England. but not to expose the unjust acts of our English Brethren I shall not say much more about them, least I cast a prejudice in your Hearts against the English Brethren, notwithstanding there are so many wicked, or unjust men, among the English, yet there are great many good, and Just men amongst the English, who loves the poor Indians, from the bottom of their hearts, and wishes us all, a well being in this World, and in the World to come Lifeeverlasting. but all I have to say about the English at present is this Whilst our forefathers were blind, and ignorant yea drowned in Spirituous Liquors; the English striped them, yea they as it were cut off their Right hands;—and now we their Children just opening our Eyes, and having knowledge grafted, and growing in our hearts, and just reviving, or coming to our Senses, like one that has been drunk—I say that now we begin to look around, and Consider and we percieve that we are striped indeed, having nothing to help ourselves, and thus our English Brethren leaves us and laugh. So now Brethren, we leave the English those who have acted unjustly towards us in New England, I say we leave them all in the hands of that God who knoweth all things, and will reward every one according to their deeds whether good or Evil.

Brethren, we seeing ourselves in such Circumstances, began last spring to talk, and to consider together. a meeting was appointed at Mohegan that being nigh the Center, and was attended the 13th day of last March AD 1773. and there was a Vast number of People Men, Women, and Children. there we Met, and there we consulted together. There was present at this Meeting Indians of seven Towns. and it was proposed that certain men out of every town should go out and seek a Place somewhere, for us seven towns to settle down together in Peace. Some were of a Mind to go southward as far as to Ohio, and some not so far that way. Some said we could purchase land nigher and it would not do to live so far from the English. At last it Came into our minds to try to purchase some land from some of the Six Nations. So a time was appointed by our great men, Councilors and teachers, that those Chosen men should go forth one out of every town to seek a Place for us to settle on, and as our work was coming on our headmen thought proper that those chosen men should not go till the hurrying work was over, that is after mowing, and reaping. and as it pleased the Tribes to chuse me for one that should come into these Parts to try to get some land upon some terms. I thought proper to send to his Honour Sir William Johnson for advice, in this affair; and I wrote a Letter to his Honor Sir William and acquainted him of all our Circumstances, desires, and purposes. and it pleased his Honor in his great Condescention to take Notice of us, and sent back a word of Encouragement which made many of our hearts glad. and about the time that we was to come up, his Honor Sir William Johnson was down in that part of the Country, which hindered us from coming up then, and there we had an Opportunity to speak with his Honor Sir William. Nine of our Country men went to see Sir William from different Towns and he used us very kindly and still gave us Encouragement. thus we have been Encouraged from time to time. his Honor Sir William appointed a time for some of our Country men to come up in these Parts, and that was last fall. it pleased Sir William to tell us that he would help us as much as he could and advise us in the Affair. and according to the advice of his Honor some of us came to his house last fall, and to our joy He recieved us gladly, and shewed us great respects. only two of us came up. the reason it is supposed that no more came up to his Honors house is this, a bad News was heard in our Country. We heard that it was dangerous times, we hard that there was a considerable talk of war among the Indians in these Parts, which News discouraged many of our Brethren. but when we came to Sir Williams, He enformed us otherwise. also Sir William acquainted us, with your proceedings at which good News, we were very glad. and our minds was disposed to come even to this town, to converse with you more particularly—but according to your desire and the advice of his Honor Sir William we returned from his House; after he had fully acquainted us of your good will towards us in New England. at that time Sir William delivered to me few lines, so as I might shew them to my Brethren in New England. in them few lines was contained the answer which you gave to Sir Williams Message sent to you by Saghuagarat one of your Chiefs, concerning the Intentions of our New England Brethren, of removing to this part of the World if consistent with the minds of you our Elder Brothers. not only consistent with your Minds, but also with the mind, or approbabion of his Honor Sir William. Yea here is, in my hand the Writting drawn from the Records of his Honor Sir William, which if you please ye may hear, so as things past may be fresh in your Memorys again. this Paper or Writting I carried myself thro' Six Towns of Indians in New England. and at every town I called the People together both small, and great, male, and female, and they recieved the good news with great joy. I did not go to the seventh town, by reason of the inconvenience of going by water; and also my Business called me to be at home: so I made as much hast as possible.—however they have heard of your good will: and purposed to send one from that Tribe at this time, but perhaps the wind was contrary so as he could not get over to the Main.—from the Town where I live at present, we sent a Young man, down to Our Brethren few days before we sat away, to stir them up, or to awoke them; and to tell them that the time is drawing nigh when we should go, to vizit our western Brethren: and to discourse with them more perticularly; So as we might be fully satisfied what to do in the next place, or how we should take the next Step. But our Brethren thought it not Necessary to send great many at this time the reason is this, because there is a great body of snow on the face of the Earth. which would hinder us from seeing the ground. if there was no Snow, doubtless some of our elder Brethren would now be present at this Meeting to converse with you. but my friends we hope that ye will not be angry with us, because there is no more of us come to this place. there was four of us that sat off together, from four diffirent Towns. But two of our Companions gave out—the one his hip failed him, the other his Back. and they returned, we know not how it is with them. But God who is good—and doeth good continually, gave us health, and Strength, and prospered us by the way, and now in his own due time hath brought us safe to this place, and is allowing us an Oppertunity to see (?) your faces in Comfort, and to converse with you in Peace at this time. so to God we give sincere thanks at this time, in the presence of you all, for all his goodness towards us. We rejoice that God gave us favour in the Eyes of his Honor Sir William Johnson.—and we rejoice that God gave us favour in your Eyes. and we were glad to hear that ye found it in your hearts to pity us, or our Brethren in New England when ye heard of our Circumstances and not only we thank you, but all our Brethren in New England gave you their hearty thanks. Yea we have abundant reason to rejoice, we thought to try to purchase Land of you,—But we are exceeding glad that it is in your heart to give us land, yea we thank you that ye have given us so much already.

Brethren this Silver Pipe was sent to me, and this tobacco Pouch with it, to dispose of them according to the advice of his Honor Sir William Johnson. Brethren with pleasure I would tell you that Sir William recieved us gladly at this time also. and he advised me to deliver this pipe to the Chiefs at the Meeting, and to let the Pipe be kept in the Council house Continually, so at your assemblings ye might look on it; and smoke out of it, and remember us your Brothers in New England. his Honor Sir William said also, perhaps ye would think it very odd if there was no Tobacco in the Pouch, so his Honor was pleased to fill the Pouch, and sent it by me, to your chiefs, that this day ye might smoak out of this Silver Pipe. So now I deliver this Pipe unto you, as a Sure token from our Several Tribes in New England that we are one and sincere in what we say and do. and now our Elder Brothers, I have told you of the State, and Circumstances of our Brethren in New England, and we have enformed you of our proceedings hitherto. and all we desire at present is to know whether ye are of the same mind as ever. whether your loves, and Pity is the Same towards your Brethren in New England. So our dear friends, and Brethren, we leave these few words which I have spoken for you to consider of at present. and hereafter I shall speak few words more for you to consider of. &c&c.

The foregoing speech was delivered by Joseph Johnson, by the assistance of Mr Edward Johnson who acted in the Room of an Interpreter. after a short answer from the Indians, the assembly was dismissed. and could not give a fully answer as they had not time to consider. it being on Fryday towards sun set.

On Saturday towards Evening they gave us an Answer. to our Satisfaction. but were not ready to recieve more for Consideration. because several were retired home being now almost night. the meeting was appointed again early on Monday Morning. January 24th. Kanoarohare. Brethren we ought all to adore God for his goodness to us from day to day and we ought to bless him, that he is allowing us this opportunity to assemble *(rest of line* *worn off)* house, to consult together a little about the affairs of this World. Brethren, what we have further for your consideration is this, our purposes, or designs if God willing. this I know my elder Brothers, that we may consult together, and agree to do so, and so, yet if it is not the will of God all our Councils, and purposes will come to nought, or all will be in vain. but if it please God, and He open your hearts to pity us, and to recieve us as a younger Brother, and help us in very deed: then will we come up and settle together in Peace, when you shall think of it. and where it will be most agreeable for us. all we desire is to live in peace, and to have things convenient.

Brethren, I am very glad that my Ears have heard, those things which I have heard from you, in your Consultations since we have been in your Town. and as perhaps this is the last Opertunity that I shall speak unto you my elder Brothers at this time. be so kind as to harken to the words of your younger Brother, who would speak this once more in the Name of seven towns in New England first *(illegible)* my elder Brother^{s}, that ye have considered of me; or my Brethren in New England. and I rejoice that ye find in your hearts love still remaining there, and pity towards your Younger Brothers in New England. I thank you that ye have so deliberately considered of those few words which I desired you to consider. and we thank you for your kind answer which ye gave to us, and to our Brethren in New England, we thank you that ye have taken us to be your Younger Brothers; we thank you that ye look upon us to be of the same Blood as yourselves, and we thank you that ye have recieved us into your Body, so that now we may say we have one head, one heart, and one Blood, and may God keep us united together in very deed untill we both grow white headed. and may God grant, that we may set down together, in his own due time, in peace. and now Brethren we thank you, that according to our desire, ye have been pleased to assemble yourselves together this once more. and my elder Brothers, I have not few words more to communicate unto you which I beg ye would take

under your deliberate consideration. Brothers, ye was pleased last fall to give us an Encouragement of ten miles square. of Land for which we all was very glad. but in our Consultations we thought that it was not quite sufficient. perhaps we should soon clear so much, or settle so much if prospered, or blessed. then we should have somewhere else to look, to put our children on, so as they may live. But our elder Brothers, ye know that it is a very hard thing for Parents, and Children to seperate. and we desire to live together in peace, if it be the pleasure of God our Creator, and Preserver. and Brethren, if it please you to give us Land—Sufficient for us, and our Children after us. then will we be glad indeed. and Come and set down in peace Side of you our Elder Brothers. if ye be pleased to give us more land it will gladen the hearts of many poor Indians in New England. We are glad Brethren that ye have so much at your disposal. But thus much I have to say for your present Consideration delivered Jan 7 (?).
Wrote by Joseph Johnson at Johnson Hall. 1774.[1]

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[1] *This entire manuscript is in Joseph Johnson's handwriting.*

The Oneidas Answer Joseph Johnson

Kaunoaurohaure. Jan.^{ry} 21st. 1774.

The first Answer given on fryday, January 21st. A.D. 1774. Brethren, we receive you in the Name of your Seven Towns, or Seven Tribes in New England. Brethren, we rejoice, that it hath pleased God, in his due time, to allow us an Oppertunity to assemble ourselves together. in order to converse together, so as we might know your State, and Circumstances in New England. and so as you might know our Minds concerning you our Brothers. Brethren, we are glad that we have heard, how the Case stands on your Side. and we recieve you, and your Words very kindly. and we are glad that we have heard so much of your Minds. and

Brethren, we shall consider of all your words. and give you an Answer, when we shall be ready. and Brethren, as it is an affair of Great Importance, and as it requires Time for Consideration, We hope that ye will not be uneasy, or be in too great a hurry to return, but wait Patiently. and Brethren, perhaps in twenty days, you will recieve an Answer from us, Your Brothers. Brethren, we would ask you a Question. We desire to know how many have a mind, to come up, in these parts to live. or how many Houses, there is in a Town. or how many families. this is all that we have to say at Present.

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The Second Answer

(GIVEN ON SATURDAY TOWARDS EVENING, JANUARY 22d. A.D. 1774.)

Well Brethren, harken unto us; this day we have assembled ourselves together again, to consult together, a little about the affairs of this World. But tomorrow is the Lords day, which he hath made, and set apart for his own Service. Brethren, we rejoice in the goodness of God, who hath preserved us all our Lifetime, and hath brought us to see the light of this day in Peace. and we rejoice, that God is allowing us, this oppertunity of assembling ourselves together this once more; and we are glad that we are suffered to see the faces of each other in Comfort. and as we are shortsighted Creatures, We are sensable that we stand in need of Gods help: We desire that God would direct us, and lead us to such Conclusions, as will be most pleasing to Him. concerning this affair, which has been laid before us, for our Consideration. and now, and now Brethren, We the Chiefs and Lords of this Place, also Warriors, and all in this Assembly, are about to give you an Answer, concerning the Affair, which you laid before the Council Yesterday. Brethren, we understood all that you said Yesterday. But we are some what forgetfull, our Memories cant retain for a long time, what we hear. and altho we cant remember every

Word, yet very likely the principle, or the substance of your Speech, is rooted in our Understanding, and considering Parts that is rooted, and fixed in our Hearts. We will remember what you said concerning the English. and we are sorry to hear the low Circumstances into which ye are involved in, owing to the Ignorance of your fore fathers. We are glad to hear of your proceedings hitherto. We remember that you said you acquainted Sir William Johnson, of the state, and Circumstances, that ye were in. also we remember that you said, that Sir William was pleased with the design, and advised you in the affair, and gave you Encouragement.—Brethren, Sir William also acquainted us of your Desires, or Intentions of removing to this part of the Country. and as soon as we was enformed of your Circumstances, we took the Message that Sir William Johnson sent to us, on your behalf, Under our Considerations. and Brethren we were all glad. our great men, Lords, Warriors, and young men, yea even Women, and Children, rejoiced to hear, that ye were disposed to come, and Settle in these parts. Brethren, perhaps it was the Lord that steared your minds this way. May be it is his will, and pleasure that ye should come up here, and live side of us, your Brethren.

Brethren, we that are in this Council profess to be good, or Religious Men. so ye may put confidence in us. or believe what we say unto you. Be of good Courage Brethren; the Lord of this Place, would have you to be of firm minds; be not discouraged for all the Inhabitants of this Place are very glad that ye are come to this Town, and we all rejoice to hear from you at this time, that your Brethren in New-England, are still disposed to come up, in these Parts to live and now Brethren, we recieve you into our Body as it were. now we may say we have one head, one heart, and one Blood. now Brethren our lives are mixed together. and let us have one Ruler, even God our Maker, Who dwells in Heaven above, who is the father of us all. Brethren, we are sensable that the Devil is never Idle, but is ever busy. and if the Evil Spirit stirs up any Nation whatsoever, or Person; against you, and causes your Blood to be spilt, we shall take it, as if it was done unto us; or as if they spilt the blood from our own Bodies. and we shall be ever ready to defend you, and help you, or ever be ready to protect you according to our Abilities. and now Brethren, as we expect that ye will come, and live side of us in short time; We would tell you as Brothers, our principle, or Custom in these parts. Brethren, two things, we six united Nations do follow. the first, and Chief is Religion. or to follow the directions given to us in Gods Word. the second is to concur with the Unchristianized Nations, so far as will promote Peace, and Tranquility in our Land. Brethren, this we ought to do, that Religion might grow, and flourish in these Parts. and Brethren, we shall expect that ye will assist us in advising us, concerning the Affairs, that may be brought under our consideration, when ye shall live side of us your Brothers. and Brethren, it is hoped, that we both shall be disposed ever to help one another in cases of Necessity, so long as we shall live together. as for us Brethren, we have already resolved to Endeavour to do all things as becometh Brothers. and as much as in us lies with Justice, and Equity so long as we shall sit together. and now Brethren here is your Elder Brothers the Tuskaroras, we say your elder Brothers because they came here before you, and because thay came from a greater distance. these your elder Brothers, will live next to you, or side of you. and they are an understanding people. yea we are ready to say, that they are become wiser than us Onoidas, in considering of Affairs of great importance. Brethre, you see, that these Tuskaroras, are now white headed by reason of Age, and with these our Brothers we have sat together in Peace even from our Infancy. Well Brethren, we hope that it will be so with us, when we come to set down together. We hope, that we shall live together in peace, untill we see each other white headed. Brethren, your Ears must not be open to hear flying Stories; and you must not let prejudice arise in your hearts too quick. this is the way, or Custom likewise of us Six united Nations: not to regard any evil minded Person, or

Persons who are contrary to Peace. Brethren, we look upon you, as upon a Sixth Brother. We will tell you, of all your elder Brothers, the Onoidas, Kiyougas, Nanticuks, Tuskaroras, Todelehonas. these five are your Elder Brothers. But as for the Mohawks, Onondaugas, and the Senecas they are our fathers, and they are your fathers. Brethren, in the Spring we shall expect you here again, then we will shew you a place to settle on. Brethren, here is your Silver pipe and it shall be done with according to Orders. thus much we have to say at present. accept our words, tho it is but little that we have said. Brethren, we say this once more, that we are all very glad to see you in our Town. and now Brethren, We the Chiefs and Lords of this Place, also Warriors, and young men give our kind respects, and Sincere love to our Brethren in New England, that live in those Seven Towns, that are disposed to come this way. we say we give our loves to the old men, your Councilers and teachers, and to all the young men, also we give our love to all the Women old, and young, and to all Children. Brethren, very likely several of our Chiefs, will accompany you, as far as to Sir William Johnson's, and there Brothers, we will confirm all our words, and rectify our Mistakes, if we have made any: there alone is the place, to have all things done well, done Strong, & done Sure. So Brethren, this is the End of our Answer.

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The Third Answer

(GIVEN ON MONDAY, JANUARY 24TH. A.D. 1774. AT KAUNOAUROHAURE.)

Brethren, since we have recieved you as Brothers, we shall not confine you, or pen you up, to Ten Miles square: We have much Land at our disposal, and you need not fear but that you shall have Land sufficient for you, and for your Children after you. We would have you to fix your Minds here, and here alone. and when ye come to live up here, we desire that ye would not harken to the invitations of other Nations, who may invite you, to go farther back. Brethren, we say let your Minds be at ease, be not troubled but come, and settle down in Peace, and live in peace forever. Brothers, we understand that ye purpose to go home ward tomorrow; but Brothers, dont take it hard, we think that ye must continue with us two days longer. the reason is this. Some of the Chiefs, or heads of the Six Nations, are coming up from Sir Williams with a Speech from his Honor. and we think that it will not be handsome, or that it would not be so well for us to meet them in the Woods. We think that it would be best for us, to see them here in this Council house. also we think that it would be very proper, for you to be here, when Sir Williams speech will be delivered. as it is concerning you, and your New England Brethren. this is all that we have to say at presentt

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Framington May 2d A.D. 1774

TO THE REV.^{d} MR. ELEAZER WEELOCK,D.D.

My kind, and Honored Benefactor, with love and gratitude in my heart, and much humility would I once more attempt to write to your worthy Person. O! the Wōunds that I have given to that pious Soul of thine, oft of late have I shed tears, when I consdered of my past Ingratitude and misconduct. Oft have I thought of your unweared labours of love to unworthy me.—And O! that thy love, this very time might truly cause me to praise God, who not only ruleth in the Armies of heaven, but also doeth his will, and pleasure among the Inhabitants of this lower World. Ah! what sorrow ought to flow from this once Savage Heart of mine that I have not only grieved you, but that I have in times past crucified as it were; the Lord of Glory, even the Son of God, afresh and put him to an open shame. Great Wonder! even marvelous in my Eyes, or rather the admiration of my soul that I, a hell deserving cursed Creature has been suffered to live in this World so long. Sinning, offending, and provoking the God of holiness, and the God of justice, and the God of vengance, and what is the joy of my Soul the God of love, and the God of mercy, through his dearly beloved and only begotten Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is admired by all them that believe, and in whom I humbly hope, I have been enabled by the Spirit of the living God, to put my whole trust & Confidence, for time and for Eternity. O! that I might see more and more of my own wretchedness, and insufficiency, that Jesus Christ might be more and more precious to my Soul, oh! I am nothing, should I have the boldness to tell you, that I am hopefully converted, I should tell a news that I am not certain of. For since I first thought so myself, I have often doubted. I percieve Sin to be lurking within, sometimes, I greatly fear that I am altogether in my Sins, even under the power and Dominion of Sin, if so I am wretched wretched poor miserable creature sill, notwithstanding the World calls me blessed, notwithstanding I pass for a true Christian among all setts, and Denominations, as it were—I have but very poor Opinion of myself, and I walk in fear always having these words, ever dwelling upon my mind. Strive to enter in at the strait Gate; for many I say unto you will seek to enter in. & shall not be able. But amidst all my doubts & Fears this verse is my consolation. All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out. These are the words of Jesus, whom I love, and whom I adore, and whom I purpose to serve as I shall be enabled, by that holy spirit by which I humbly hope I have been quickned, and enlivened through the Sufferings and Death of this Jesus Christ, who was once Crucified, and slain, and buried, also, who arose from the Grave and ascended up into Glory, and who is now interceding for all his chosen in that upper world of Glory. I say through Jesus Christ alone, I humbly hope for pardon, for all my Great, many, and exceedingly aggrivated Sins, which are past, Which I have already committed. And for the sake of this Jesus Christ alone, who came to save his peculiar people from their Sins, I humbly hope for Grace sufficient for me, that I may hence forward withsand all the Temptations that I have to encounter throughout my whole Life, which may arise either from the World, flesh or from the Divil.—O! my kind and worthy Benefactor, I percieve that I am in a large Field, and see as it were, Enemies Malicious and powerfull, in a terrible array. Shall Satan be conqured? ah methinks, that he is already but a conqured King. shall sin be subdued, and shall vile affections and cursed Lusts be mortified, ah my Soul wait patiently, and you shall see the great salvation of God. I percieve, that since I have listed under the Banner of Jesus Christ, that I must not be idle, but go out and fight as it were the Battles of the Lord, and O! that I could ever fight with true Love in my heart, and O! that I might ever be inspired with Wisdom from on high, even from the glorious Captain of our Salvation that I might wisely undermine the Kingdom of Satan. This my hearts desire that Satan's Kingdom might be destroyed, & that the Kingdom of the dear Redeemer be built upon the ruins thereof And it is the full purpose of my heart, O! my Benevolent Benefactor, to devote all the faculties of my Soul & Body to the Service of King Jesus. I have served Satan long enough. I have been striving to build his cursed Kingdom, devoted to ruin long enough I have done good service to that Prince of Darkness. And since I have seen his treachery, his cursed designs I must leave him. I flee away from him and he is welcome to all my Wages, let him recieve the wrath of God, since no Saviour was ever found for him. But as for me I'll chearfully speak of a once crucified, once bleeding, once dying, once buried, but now risen, living and exalted Redeemer. Him I will serve if he gives me grace while I live, faithfully, hereon Earth I hope to glorify God Honor Jesus Christ by the assistance of the holy Ghost and hereafter enjoy Father, Son & holy Ghost, which will compleat my happiness, and the happiness of all true Children—But my kind benefactor, having already wrote more than I expected when I first sat down, wilt thou be pleasd to wait with patience a little Longer, while I write, or make known to you, or while I speak of other things—Rev.^{d} Sir I heartily thank you for your kind letter, dated Feb.^{y} 4 A.D. 1774 and I also hope, that Satan will at Last be fully disappointed, and may the Lord's will be done concerning me. If God sees fit to make me a Vessel for the Master's service Amen. If only a Vessel of mercy Glory be given to God, and I heartily rejoice that the Lord has prospred you, in your laudable Undertaking in that part of the World. And Rev.^{d} Sir methinks, that it is not for the want of Gratitude, or love, that I have not visited you, my kind Benefactor. but to speak the truth it is Poverty. I alway; have been poor, as all my Brethren are likewise, yet I have lived somehow hitherto. And Rev.^{d} Sir perhaps I can give good reason for my Poverty. I would tell you in the first place that I have kept school, here, at Farmington since Nov.^{r} 15.th 1772. first ten Weeks, I had six pounds this ten Weeks I was as it were upon trial. afterwards I went to Boston being well recommended by the Rev.^{d} Mr. Pitkin, who is my kind and wise Overseer, and when I was at Boston the Gentlemen, was pleas'd to give or offer £20 per Annum for my Encouragement. I thought it too little Wages. but I concluded, saying, I would go to Farmington and see what more the Indians would give, and if they give me proper Encouragement, I would continue keeping the School. the Indians after I saw them offered four pounds more which made £24 per Annum So I have kept and so keep still, well I believe I could Live very comfortably with £24 per Annum if I spent my Money only for myself. but now I am going to the you the Reason of my Poverty. I have been seeking the good of my poor Indian Brethren, for this some time, for the good of the Indians in particular that Live in these seven Towns—Farmington, Nihantuck, Mohegan, Pequt or Gretton—Stonington, Narraganset & Montauck and notwithstanding I am Master of a School yet I have traveled much in the run of one year I have ever hired another Master in my room whilst I was absent I have been the foremost all along even to this Day. I have been to the Hon.^{d} Sir Wm

Johson twice, one in Oct.^{r} 1773 and again in Jan.^{y} 1774 at that time I went, even to the Onoida Village where the Rev^{d}. Mr Kirtland preaches—And I have the pleasure to tell you that his Honor Sir W^{m} is well pleas'd with the grand design which I have in my view, and his Honor Sir W.^{m} has favor'd us New-England Indians very highly and he has done us much good, we have as much Land as we shall want, given to us New-England Indians by the Onoidas and we have had invitations from Nations 600 Miles back of S.^{r} W.^{m} it is strange to me that we meet with such good success I humbly hope there is Providence in this, and O! what a pleasing prospect, sometimes opens to my View, who knows what is in the Womb of Providence. but what I am after to tell you, that in all my travels up and down the Country, I have been at my own Expence, which is owing to the great poverty of the Indians, I have Rec.^{d} only 3 Dollars from the Indians since I have been in this service. But I blame them not, for Indians are truly poor, I have been at great Expence sometimes, especially last winter I was gone six Weeks hired a Master all the Time, and when I came down from Onoida, after I had tarried there Eight days there was several of the great men, Lords & Warriors came down to Sir William's with me, in order to confirm their words at S.^{r} W.^{ms} for said they there is the only place to have all things done well, strong & sure. there was twelve that came down with me, and I bore all their Expences even to Sir William's or till we got to Sir William's and I believe it is about 100 Miles. So have I spent my Money and this is it what makes me now so poor, that I have not one penny Clear, no, I am now in debt, for provision and little Cloathes, and I can't come up to you very soon, or at least till I can get money to pay my debts, and bear my expences to your Residence. I want to see you very much once more. I must go up to Sir William's again in September the first part I dont know how I shall go through all what is before me, unless Kind Providence doth provide for my necessities unexpectedly. I know not where to go for help. if my kind Benefactor was nigh I verly believe you would relieve me greatly & even Encourage me but I end leaning upon the Lord

I am your well-wisher & Pupil

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

P.S. I began this Letter I believe it was about ten o'clock this evening and I am in such a great hurry that I can't write over again I am preparing a little peice of poor Stonny Ground for to plant little Corn for me & mine to eat, if we live. I work upon this piece between Schools I try to turn every way to get a living, and when I have done my uttermost I hardly live. Rev.[d] Sir if things so work or rather if it be the will of God, I purpose to come and see you by the latter end of August next and wait to get Licence then if shall be thought proper for I never had any other Licence than the earnest desire of People and a willingness in my heart to speak I pray you to write to me & let me know whether it will be proper for me to come in August or before or after—*I am* JOSH I have not seen Jacob nor David since I rec.[d] your kind Letter

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Joseph Johnson's License

These may certify all whom it may concern that Joseph Johnson an Indian of the Mohegan Tribe in Connecticutt has offered himself before us, who were providentially together, for Examination as a Candidate to preach the Gospel, with a principal View to the Benefit of his own Nation. We have examined him as to his Knowledge and Understanding in the Doctrines of the Gospel, and Experimental Religion and other Accomplishments Needful for his Usefulness among his own Nation and also the Churches in a christian Land, where, in Providence, he may be called, and have opportunity to preach. We are well satisfied as to his Qualifications and heartily recommend him for S.[d] Purpose.

Dartmouth College
in New Hampshire
ye 25.th *of August* 1774

LEMUEL HEDGE, Pastor of Warwick
JEREMY BELKNAP, Pastor of Dover
JOSIAH DANA, Pastor of Hutchinson
ISAIAH POTTER, Pastor of Lebanon
WILLIAM CONANT, Pastor of Lime
SILVANUS RIPLEY, Missionary

We ye Subscribers, being satisfied, from personal acquaintance with ye person abovementioned, as also from his public performances, & ye concurrent reports from persons of Sobriety & reputation, of ye apparent piety of ye person afore that he is well qualified to do Service to ye Redeemer's Interest among his own Brethren & Nation wherever God in his providence may call him: do therefore heartily approve of, & concur with, ye above Certificate, & do join in recommending him to ye Esteem, Kindness & Charity of all People wherever he may go in prosecution of such a pious Design

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK Presidt. of Dart. College
BENJA. POMEROY Pastor of a Chh at Hebron
EDEN BURROUGHS Pastor of Hanover

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

*Mohegan, Oct.*r 17th. *AD* 1774. *on Monday.*

TO MY HONd PATRON.—

Rev.d and Worthy Sir, through the mere mercy of the God of patience I am still alive, and enjoy a comfortable measure of health. and I hope that by the goodness of the Lord that your valluable health has been continued. I would Just enform you that I safely arrived at home the 13th of this instant, from the Onoida Country, and I have met with all the Success that I could possibly expect. There is now Secured to these Seven Tribes, Mohegan, Narraganset, Montock, Grotton, Stonington, Nihantuck, and Farmington, a very large Tract of Choice good Land.—and it is expected that a considerable number from these parts will go up early next Spring, that is, in first of March next if nothing happens more than common before then.—I send you here inclosed a Copy of the Writing I recieved from the Honorable Guy Johnson, Sole Agent and Superintendant of Indian Affairs, &c:—a writing concerning the foresaid Lands.—it was peacable times amongst the Nations when I left those parts.—excepting the Shaw wa nees, which I believe will soon be quieted.—I was absent from home exactly nine weeks.—The Lord in Mercy hath granted to me a Son, Which may the God of Mercy graciously preserve. We were married the Second day of December 1773, by the Revd. Mr. E. Judson of Chelcy, and the Son was born the Second day of September 1774.—My Companion, and Son, through divine favour are both well at present.

Joseph Brant, sends his duty, Love, regards and everything that belongs to a thankfull Pupil to your worthy Person, and kind respects to your whole family. he purposes by divine leave, to make you a visit if posible next Commencement.—it gave Joseph much Satisfaction, much Joy, to hear of the Prosperity of your Undertakings. I might write much more concerning Joseph, and others, did time permit. Colonel G. Johnson is exceeding friendly. there seems to be a door Opening for Great good to the Western Nations. it is very likely that there will be a loud Calls for several Schoolmasters among the Six Nations soon who have recieved us into their Body. Joseph Brant said, that he should, at the Grand Congress to be held at Onondaga soon, recommend to them learning, he said that he should say much about learning. he seemed, as well as the Onoidas to be much pleased, with our design of having a School, soon as possible, in our proposed new Town, whene some, at least two likely youth from each Town, or Tribe might be instructed &c: that they may have teachers of their own Tribes or Indian Brethren. and I am really sorry that your Acadamy is so much one side, or rather I am much grieved to think that some, or Chief of the Six nations are so disaffected towards your Institution.—&c.—as for that private, tho Publick affair, which you desired me to write to the full, I will not commit to Paper, as I am not yet fully satisfyed about it. enquire of Mr. Fowler. the Rev^d^ Mr. Kirtland says that in Six months, if I stay among the Indians I can be almost master of their Language. he says that I soon could preach in their own Language to them, not only to one Nation or Tribe but to several. he says there is more liklihoods of my being usefull in those parts among the Ind.^s^ than an English, or white man.—he reckons that a door will directly be opened for me to Preach at Onondaga. I purpose by divine leave to make trial next Spring early, and then I can write by Experience—but to me it looks very Pobable. I have seen the Chiefs of Onondaga. Onondaga is the Capitol Town, or Middle house of all the Six Nations, and if I have access there I fear not, but that I may go to any of the Six Nations, or even to other Nations further Southward, and westward. I am at times much animated, much engaged, tho things sometimes look dark. but at all times even when my drooping Spirits are dejected, I can rejoice that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, and He will do all things right, and bring about his own Eternal purposes in his own way, and in his own appointed Time.—in the Lord will I put my trust, and by his divine Grace I will devote all the faculties of my Soul and body to his Service henceforward and forever.—but being in Much hast, I shall write no more of the pleasing Prospects opening to view here, and there. but I will write of my lamentable Circumstances at present.

My kind, and benevolent Benefactor, it gives me much Joy when I consider that I am about to make my request known to one who I take to be truly friendly, and to one, who, I flatter myself will do everything that is reasonable, to encourage me in so Noble employment, and to make me Comfortable in the Service of our Great and generous Lord Jesus the Christ.—and I flatter myself that you will do the uttermost in your Power, to render me Usefull amongst the perishing Nations.—Rev^d Sir, in order that I might be rendered more usefull to the world it is necessary, that I should employ the ensuing winter to the Steady Study of divine Truth, and in order for me to devote myself to a steady Study, it is very necessary that I should have help from some quarter, and to whom shall I look but to your Worthy Person for present relief, and future Encouragement. I dare not look to Boston so soon, tho I have many Encouraging hints from that quarter; yet, untill necessity obliges me to return to the Boston Board, I will not return.

I want Assistance much, or more than ever I did. have I not been well employed for this long time, deserved I no encouragement, surely, I believe there is but very few, who would put themselves so much out of the way, to bring about such a noble Design, as poor me hath already done, for it not Customary now days for any to go a warfare at their own Charges, but have I, yes, verily. and I have reduced myself very low, tho I have abundant reason to rejoice that the Lord hath hitherto appeared for my help in times of great difficulty. My last Journey has been long, and very expensive, the whole of the burden seems to lie upon me providentially. and I had money Just enough to bring me hungry home—&c: my debts remain unpaid, and I can not get any money from those Indians, as yet, who are in debt to me. and I am in great strait. my Clooth are wore out, and I am ashamed to run for this in debt. and I am fit for no employ at all at present being so raged. true I have several Calls. but I am much dijected at present. Several Gentlemen that knows my Circumstances, and Ministers that I got acquainted with wonders that no one hath reasonably Considered of me, and Encouraged me. Rev^d Sir, if you can consistant with reason, Justice, and Duty set me at Liberty out of the publick fund, and suitably encourage me for the future, I should be exceeding glad. I want something for the support of my family being now three in Number and I am quite out of business, and shall continue so till Spring and then I must have help likewise.

I owe about ten Pounds lawfull money, and ten Shillings or more, which I humbly and earnestly beg you would help me to soon as possible. if not I dont know what I shall do. I am ashamed. if I had continued in the Service I was in, I should long ago, like a man settled all my accounts and should abode in Esteem still. I was truly too hasty. but now it is too late. be so good as to Consider of me thoroughly and do with me, as it seems good to you. be so good as to write by the very first Opportunity to unworthy, and dejected me, and be so good as to let me know your whole mind, and purpose Concerning me, so as I may be fully satisfied what to do. my desire is to study this winter at home. and improve my gifts amongst my Indian Brethren in these Parts.—if you can help, please to help me directly. if you can not let me know it. —but I end hoping that you will forgive my long, and tedious Letter. also I end hoping, and wishing for the Continuance of your valluable Life, and health, and may you yet See the Prosperity of all your laudable undertakings. I am, Rev^{d} Sir, your, Wellwisher, and humble Petitioner

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

TO THE REVD ELEAZER WHEELOCK. D. D. *and President of Dartmouth College.*

P. S. Respects, love, & duty to all that enquire after me.

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Mohegan. December 4th *AD* 1774. *Sunday Even.*^{g}

REV^{d} AND WORTY SIR;—

With much humility, and Gratitude do I undertake to write to your worthy Person this once more.—I have the pleasure to enform you, my honoured *Patron,* that through Divine favour, I, and my little family are in health, and it is the desire of my heart to hear that your valluable health is still continued. my honoured *Patron,* I hope will not take it ill from his dejected Pupil, to add a petition still. I humbly acknowledge that your worthy Person hath in a very wonderfull manner multiplied your favours—towards me an undeserving Object.—well might I, in times past forever despaired of ever recieving any Tokens of respects from you, or from any of my honoured Acquaintance that Surround you, but I greatly rejoice that I have a reason to hope, that you, my honoured *Patron,* and your Respectable Household, is in part reconciled, and I humbly hope that that great *Breach,* which vile *Ingratitude,* and abominable *Pride,* had made in times past between me, and you my Honoured Patron, with the rest of my worthy, and loving friends, is in some measure repaired; and may the God of all grace, Who I humbly hope hath quickened me, be my constant Supporter, that I dishonour Him no more, neither wound the hearts of his Dear Children any more.—and I thank you, my Compassionate *Patron,* for all your kindnesses to me ward, even from my Childhood, and I would thank you, in a perticular manner for your Respects, and kindness to me, when I was at the Place of your Residence, and I thank all your honoured family, and the loving members of your dear *Seminary,* which may long flourish *gloriously,* for all the Respects and Tokens of Love and Friendship shewn to such a Despicable Lump of polluted Clay, as is inclosed in this tawnny skin of mine.—and I do ever retain in my mind, with pleasure and respects, Dartmouth and Her Sons.—But as for my adding a petition still, methinks there is no need. you, my Honoured *Patron,* is well acquainted with my Circumstances, my situation is well known to you—your worthy Person knows that I am poor, needy, and almost distressed Creature, and I believe that it is not owing to my Lazeness, neither can it be reasonably computed to my Extravagance, that I am thus reduced.—me thinks that no one can think hard of me, if they would duly Consider, the necessary Charge that I have been at, from time to time since I have Voluntarily devoted myself, for the good of my poor Brethren that live scattered about in these parts.—all I desire from you my Honoured *Patron,* is that you would be pleased to give me an Answer to the full, to that Letter I sent to you by *Jacob Fowler.*—so as I might know what to depend upon.—now I am betwixt hope, and Despair.—and I know not which way to turn, the time is very short before I must be obliged to go to take Possession of the Land granted to us New England Indians.—there are some going out of every Town, to whom the Land is granted.—that is out of Seven Towns.—there is nine from Mohegan that is going next Spring to take Possession. —things look very Encouraging.—my Debts remain unpaid and I do not know how I shall get along this winter. I have nothing to live upon hardly . and I am in no way to persue a Study of Divine Truth as I purposed if I had a relief from you. to my sorrow be it said, that the Chiefest of my Enquiry is what shall I eat &c:—but my trust is fixed on the mighty God of Jacob, who knows what is best for me. I am your Well wisher,

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

I have recieved no Letter or Inteligence from you my Honoured Patron Since I Wrote to you by friend Jacob Fowler.—I am your humble well wisher

JOSEPH JOHNSON

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Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock

Mohegan, February 14th. *AD* 1775.

MY KIND AND WORTHY BENEFACTOR

with humility, Love and Gratitude I sit myself down to write few lines to you my Hond Patron. (and with much hast.—) I recieved your kind Letter, dated January 23d last evening by the hand of Mr. R. Pomery, for which I give you my hearty thanks.

I had thought that your worthy Person had not designed to write to me. or that you had heard something, and did not see it in your way to help me. and I was greatly dejected, and almost discouraged. but the Lord in whom I trust, whom I fear, Love and purpose to serve all my days, hath been pleased to manifest his approbation (towards the Noble Undertaking, in which Cause I have given up my all to bring it about,) in his providing for my relief in a wonderfull manner, even when I was in the greatest Straits and almost in Despair.—and Blessed be the Name of the God of Israel, who hath never been found Unfaithfull, or unkind. who will provide for those that doth really depend upon his Divine Beneficence.

Rev^{d} & kind Sir, I have been to New York, and the Lord hath raised up, for me good Christian friends.—I was in the City 15, Days. and I preached there three different times. and a Collection was proposed for my relief and Encouragement two Diffirent times, and there was a very honorable Collection made, worthy of the Generous, and Noble Spirit, of the wealthy Inhabitants of that renowned City. for which kindness I bless the Lord daily.—I had Sufficient Collected for me to discharge all my debts, and also to purchase things necessary for my present Subsistance. namely little provision.—I did not go to New York untill I was quite discouraged waiting for the answer to the Letter I sent to your worthy person.—I believe that I shall have encouragement, the ensuing Year or Season, from the Board of New York, or Philadelphia.[1] I am not certain however, the Rev^{d} Mr. Rodgers. D. D. A Preacher in the Presbyterian old South Meeting house is a Member of that Honorable Board, who is remarkably friendly. to whom I humbly, and earnestly, desire you would write soon as possible, if your worthy Person can recommend me. to him, and make him believe that you think that I am worthy of notice and deserving of Encouragement, I should be Exceeding glad. he believes me to be Deserving of Encouragement, I should be Exceeding glad. he believes Me to be Deserving of Encouragement.

I preached for him three times. and he was very desirous of helping me. but he thought proper that something Should be had from thee: a Recommendation.—he seems to think if proper Steps be taken. he can obtain for my help, & Encouragement. fifty Pound Sterling *Per Annum.* befriend me, if you see it in your way.

my loving Patron, I want all help that a poor well disposed Creature can desire. I am empty handed. I have no purse neither have I any thing to put in one, if I had a purse.—nevertheless I will Step forward.—and Stagger not.—I am Satisfied it is best for me to know and ever bear upon my mind that my dependance is upon the Lord a lone.—O that I may ever live like a poor Dependant Creature—having my Eyes, and heart fixed on the Lord.

I shall write to my friends in New York directly. and I desire again that you would not fail to write for the Honorable Board of which I made mention will set, or meet together by the first of April. when the Rev^{d} Doct^{r} Rodgers will petition for me—and he will do it with double Courage if he has few lines from you. I know not the Gentlemans Christian Name. but he promised to write to you, and desired me to write also, but if he has not wrote the Surest way would be to Send a Letter to Mr. James Lazly,[2] my old Master who lives in the City of New York. keeping a School there and inclose Doct^{r} Rodger's Letter therin. be so good as to write full, and get as much help for me as ever you can from that quarter. or from that Board of which Mr Rodgers is a Member &c:

I am pleased to see the Indians in these parts so engaged. I believe that there will be upwards of Sixty young Indian men from the Seven Tribes that will Sit of from hence by the 13th of March next to be destinguished as noble Spirited Indians, who will do their uttermost to get goood, and do good,—who will distinguish themselves from the Lazzy crew that refuses the good offers made to them in these Latter Days.—Pray for us. that we may obtain blessings from on high. and that we might be blessings on Earth.

blessings to one another and blessings to many of our Poor Western Brethren who are perishing for lack of knowledge. O pray for me in a more perticular manner. that the Lord would bless me by implanting his divine fear in my heart and in giving me true humility and stedfastness in the ways of Religion, that he would give me grace Sufficient for me, &c:—I purpose by divine leave to be at your Residence by next Commencement. with my friend *Joseph Briant*. I am your humble Pupil, and real wellwisher in great hast.

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

TO THE REVD ELEAZER WHEELOCK, D.D. and President of Dartmouth College.

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[1] *These Boards represented the* SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

[2] *James Lesley, who taught for almost nine months gratis (1762-63) in Moor's Charity School* (NARRATIVE II, *4*).

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Joseph Johnson to John Rodgers

Mohegan February 15.th *AD* 1775.—*Wednesday.*

TO THE REVd DOCTr RODGERS AT NEW YORK.—

Revd and kind Sir, with humility, Gratitude and Love, I sit my self down to write to your worthy Person. through the goodness of the great God of mercy I, and my little family are in health; and I humbly hope that by the same goodness you and yours have been and still are in health, and prosperity.—kind Sir, I have ever retained your Worthy Person in my mind with pleasure since, I have had the honour of being acquainted with you. and I bless the Lord, in whom I humbly hope, I have been enabled by his own divine grace, to put my whole Trust,—that he hath graciously given me such a Good & real friend in time of need as your worthy Person hath been, and I hope still will be.—

if I was not Satisfyed in my Mind of your good will to me ward and to my poor despised Brethren I should not trouble you with my Scrables but now with pleasure, I write to you as unto the best friend or Benefactor that I have in this world of trial, Sorrow and wants and various vicisitudes. I heartily thank you for all your Tokens of Love, pity, and respects that you shewed to me ward and toward my poor brethren, when I was in the city of New York and I daily bless the Lord that he gave me favour in the Eyes and hearts of his People there, God full well knew my necessituous Circumstances, and there he mercifully relieved me and greatly encouraged me to go on still, in his Service, wherever he in his Providence should call me, and not to stagger. verily, verily, I have abundant reason to rejoice in the goodness of the Lord, who regardeth the cause of those that trust in his holy Name.—O that I might be enabled to live to his praise all my Days, and afterwards be graciously recieved up into Glory, where I may praise him throughout the endless Ages of Eternity without interruption, and without ceasing. Amen.—Revd Sir, I got safely home by the 5.th of January and found all well. I preached four times by the way. 3 times at New haven , and once at East haven, but It is not the Custom I percieve in these parts to consider of a traveling labourer, however I am thankful that my mind is not chiefly set upon the things of time and Sense and I am not disappointed, nor in the least disquieted. I have been to several Towns of my Indian Brethren since I have been at home, and have consulted with them, about worldly affairs, and I have also preached to them the Gospel of our Lord Jesus the Christ.—my Indian brethren seem to be really engaged to go on in prosecution of the Design which I made known to you when I was at your Residence—and we do fully purpose if God willing to set of from hence or from these Parts by the 13th of March next. I take it for grant and I believe that there will be upwards of 60 young men from the several Tribes who will go with Resolution into the Western Country, as first settlers of the Land granted to us by the

Onoidas.—however there is 58 able working men that purposes to go from the following Tribes. on whose word I believe we may rely, from Mohegan 10, from Narragansett 20, from Montauk on Long Island 13, from Nihantuck 5, from Farmington 10, and there is two other Tribes who confess that they are so deeply involved in debt that they can not go this Season, but fully purpose to go soon as possible. that is Grotton and Stonington. I was there last thursday and had conference with them about the affair and I shall go their again next Saturday, and tarry over the Sabbath with them. and I believe that there will be a small number from those two Tribes. the Revd Mr. Occom will Preach there next Sabbath. and he will propose Condition to them and their Creditors so as they may go and take Possession with the Rest of us. I hope that their will be nigh Seventy in the whole tho it is little uncertain. Poverty hinders many. it is thought the best way in the first Place for (—?) men that are able to endure hardships to go and work or break the way through, or prepare a Sort of Shelter for themselves and (—?) to live in, and raise little Somewhat to eat for them and (—?) and after foundation is laid, then we can with less difficutly move up with our families, and then may the aged Men and Women go leaning upon their Sons as (—?) I feel really engaged on my Part, and greatly encouraged. the prospects of great future good to my poor brethren in these parts, and also those that inhabit the western Wilderness animates my Soul to press forward. I greatly desire the Prosperity of my sinking Nation.—O that I might, by the Grace of God, be benefical not only to the bodies, but to the precious, exceeding precious Souls of my poor Indian Brethren.

Revd and kind Sir.—I would further enform you that I recieved a Letter from my Hond Patron the Revd Eleazer Wheelock D. D. and President of Dartmouth College the 13th of this Instant. the Extract of which I send you even every word.—Dartmouth College Jany 23, 1775. My dear Joseph Johnson &c: &c:———I had a favourable oppertunity to return an Answer, the next Day.—I acquainted him how the Lord had prospered me at New York and had given me a friend there, and I made Mention of your good will towards me, and also towards my Poor Brethren.—I enformed him that you designed to try to get something for my Support and for my Encouragement, from the Honorable Board at Philadelphia, or New York, I was not Certain.—however I desired him to write soon as possible to your worthy Person on my behalf, and recommend me to notice and regard if I was deserving. I enformed him that the Honorable Board would meet by the first of April.—and I doubt not, but that he will write to you. I doubt not but that you will do your uttermost to get me a Support while I shall be in the service of our Lord. But let the Lords will be done concerning that Matter. If I have encouragement from that Honorable Board I will bless the Lord, and rejoice in his goodness, if not I will still love, and trust in his holy Name, and serve him with all my might, and not be discouraged, nor repine. for he will do the thing, that is right with me and for me.—my Purposes and necessituous Circumstances I'll write on other Paper by itself.—O kind Sir, ever Pray for me, that the God of Love, would give me Grace Sufficient for me. give my Thanks and becoming Respects to your honoured, Beloved, and kind Consort. and great regards to all your family. and love to all enquiring friends. I am, kind Sir your wellwisher, and humble Pupil as it were.

JOSEPH JOHNSON *an Indian of the Mohegan Tribe.*

TO THE REVD MR RODGERS, D. D.
in the City of New York.

P. S. there was some Gentlemen that gave encouragement, that they would try to get Bibles and Psalm books if any was wanting by those that goes next march, and I have acquainted my Indian friends of the good will of Gentlemen at New York, and the Indians rejoice. at such glad tidings. if there is any so well disposed as to give us best of gifts we will greatly rejoice, and try to make good use of them. Most of us are so poor that we cant purchase Bibles and book—(?) 60 of Each I believe will be wanting. Send them to albany.

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A Passport for Joseph Johnson and Friends

TO ALL OFFICERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE COLONIES, MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES, AND OTHERS THE FRIENDS OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

GREETING

In Provincial Congress; New York June 22.^{d} 1775.

BRETHREN

Know ye that Mr. Joseph Johnson, an Indian of the Mohegan Tribe, and a licensed Preacher of the Gospel amongst the New England and Onoida Indians, having applyed to this Congress for a Passport for himself and three other Indians his Companions, now here on a Journey from the Onoida Country to New London in Connecticut: We well convinced of the friendly Disposition of the said Joseph Johnson to the Inhabitants of the American Colonies, and of his Intentions and good Offices to preserve and maintain peace and harmony between them and the Indian Nations, DO Request and desire you to afford all necessary aid and Protection to the said Joseph Johnson and his three Indian Companions, being James Shattock, John Skesuck and Samuel Tallman; and to permit them to pass freely and safely in their Journey to New London aforesaid.

We do also hereby request the said Joseph Johnson in our Name and on behalf of the whole Colony of New York, to assure the Onoida Nation, and all other our old Friends and Allys of the confederated Indian Nations, that we love and esteem them as our Brethren; that we desire to maintain with them the old Friendship which Subsisted between us from the Time of our forefathers, and that the path between us may be kept free and open at all Times; and that we desire That they do not give Ear to any false Reports to the Contrary—

By Order & on behalf of the Provincial Congress.

P. V. B. LIVINGSTON *President*

Attest

JOHN MCKESON } Secretaries
ROB^{t} BENSON }

In Committee of Safety for the Colony of New York
Septr. 8th 1775.

The bearer Joseph Johnson an Indian Preacher of the Mohegan Tribe, having given Proof of his attachment to the Cause of American Liberty We do therefore recommend him to the favor & Protection of all the Friends of American Liberty.

By order.

JOHN HARING^{ton}

◆

David Macclure to Eleazar Wheelock

Portsm.^{o} Jany: 8th. 1776—

REV.^{d} & VERY RESPECTED SIR

With great pleasure as well as sense of duty, I embrace this conveyance by Mr. Johnson—his coming this way was as welcome as it was unexpected. I receive him as my old acquaintance but very happily made more valuable by distinguishing grace—the good affects of which are very manifest in him.

He preached twice in this place to very good satisfaction & I rejoice that the pious & benevolent mission in which he is engaged has met with encouragment here—the Collections in my

Uncle's Parish & this place would have been larger was it not that our public troubles withold many from that ability to contribute to so laudable a design as once they could—

I feel a pleasure, Rev.^d Sir, in the joy it must afford You, that this your pupil, whom once, if I mistake not, you was ready to weep over as lost is now walking in the truth.—May the great head of the Church go with him & succed his labours, for the advancment of his Kingdom among the western tribes or elsewhere

Your most dutiful, obliged & affectionate Serv.^t—

DAVID MACCLURE

REV^d D^r WHEELOCK

◆

A Certification of Joseph Johnson

Dartmouth College Jan^y 8, 1776.

These Certify all concerned that the Bearer Mr. Joseph Johnson an Indian of the Mohegan Tribe in the Colony of Connecticut was educated in the Indian Charity School under my Care and was Examined and licenced to preach the Gospel among the Indians by a Number of Ministers Occasionally Met at Commencement here in August 1774. that his performances here, and I understand in Many other places, have been acceptable & well approved as a Candidate for the Sacred Ministry.—and So far as I know or have ever heard, he has obtained and well Supported the Character of a Steady, prudent, judicious, & religious Young Man who Seems to have the Interests of the Kingdom of the Redeemer much at Heart. and I have conceived a raised Hope that the Great Head of the Chh has raised him up & Will continue & More Abundantly qualify him for great and extensive Usefulness especially among the Natives of America. And I do Accordingly recommend him to the courtesie & Respect, Charity and Kindness of all Gent.^{n} and Christians where he Shall have Occasion to receive or they to exercise and express the Same toward him.

Certified by ELEAZAR WHEELOCK *Presid*^{t}
S.^{d} *College.*

◆

A Commission for Joseph Johnson

REV.^{d} SIR

With this you have our general Recommendation w^{ch} we shall be rejoyc'd to hear may prove of any Service to you in the Course of your Travels—We are very sensible that is of the greatest Consequence to us to retain in Friendship the Indians on our Frontiers, especially those of the Six Nations among whom you have for several Years past been a Missionary whose Alliance We wou'd heartily wish by ev'ry prudent Measure to retain firm & unshaken, and We beg Leave earnestly to request that you woud use your utmost Endeavours to brighten the Chain of Friendship w^{ch} has for many years past subsisted between Us & them—that you woud on your first Arrival among them present our cordial Love & Regards, and let them know how highly We respect them for their wise & prudent Conduct—that when they have been so pressingly solicited by our most cruel, unnatural Enemies to take up the War Hatchet against Us, They, judging the Dispute between Gr.^{t} Britain & America to be a family Difference determined not To intermedle in the Quarrel hoping We might soon be reconcild, & expressing the warmest Wishes to that purpose—which is an Example of the noblest kind & ought to raise a Blush upon our Faces, when we, who profess a Religion of peace and to teach it to other Nations, find ourselves outdone by those who are but as Infants in y^{e} same Religion—We woud further recommend to You

Sir, that you exert yourself by all means to preserve & cultivate a good Understanding between us & the said Indians watch^{g} all Opprt^{ys} to prevent a Breach thereof

That you wou'd also enlighten them into the Nature of the Dispute between our parent State & the Colonies, being an unjust Claim set up by wicked & designing Men who have persuaded our Sovereign to infringe upon, if not, to strip the Inhabitants of the Colonies of their native Rights & privileges, and thereby to take as much of the produce of our Lands, our Trade and Fishery from Us, as they on the other side the Great Waters may think proper without our Consent—And if at any time there shou'd appear the Least Danger of a Rupture from the base Intrigues of our Enemies to give the earliest advice possible to some of the Colonies—

Wishing you health, an agreeable Journey and safe Arrival at your designed Abode—We rest your assured Friends—

Colony of New Hampshire } *Exeter* 16th *January* 1776

In the House of Representatives

VOTED—That the above Letter be presented To the Rev^{d} M.^{r} Johnson as the Sense of this house, & that the same be signed by the Speaker of this house and the President of the Council—

Sent up to the Hon^{ble} Board (P WHITE *Speaker)*

In Council, Eodem Die, read & concurred—

M WEARE *President*

Testimonial of the Colony of New Hampshire to Joseph Johnson

COLONY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE } *To all Christian People to whom These presents may come—The Council and Assembly of the Colony of New Hampshire send Greeting—*

THE BEARER of This the Rev.^{d} Joseph Johnson who has for several years past been employed as a Missionary among the Western Tribes of Indians having in the Course of his Travels come through this part of the Country & made a short Tarry with Us, in w^{ch}. Time he has by his Conversation, prayers & preaching approv'd himself to Us; We readily embrace the Opport.^{y} to recommend him, not only as a Friend to the Cause of American Liberty, but as a modest, discreet, sensible Man whose Influence among the Indian Nations has been & may be very serviceable to the Colonies —that he appears well calculated by Birth & Education to itenerate & preach the glad Tidings of the Gospel among those our Brethren; an Alliance & Friendship w.th whom We ought undoubtedly by ev'ry prudent Measure to retain firm & unshaken—

And as Mr Johnson's Dependance for present Support in his Mission has been interrupted by the unhappy Contest between Great Britain & the Colonies, w^{ch} necessarily reduces him to great Indigence, We woud further recommend him to the Benevolence and Charity of all his Christian Brethren upon whom he may occasionally call in his Travels.

In the House of Representatives Jan^{ry} 16th 1776

VOTED That the above & foregoing be Delivered to the rev^{d} M.^{r} Johnson as the Mind of the General Assembly of this Colony—and that the Same be Sign'd by the Speaker of this house & by the President of the Councill—Sent up for Concurrence—

P. WHITE *Speaker*

In Council Eodem Die, Read & Concurred

M WEARE *President*

Joseph Johnson's Texts and Vow

1 JOHN. 1.7.
x The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin.
5th Deliver me from all my Transgressions. PSA. 39. 8.
6th I will delivor thee, and thou shalt glorify me. PSA. 50. 15.
7th In God I have put my trust. PSA. 56. 4.
8th My Grace is sufficient for thee. 2 COR. 12. 9.
x He is able also to save them to the Uttermost, that come unto God by Him. HEB. 7. 25.

Pay thy vows to the most High PSA. 50. 14.
3d. God be mercifull to me a Sinner. ST. LUKE. 18. 13.
4th I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord. JER. 31. 20.
1st. Christ Jesus came into the World to save sinners; of whom I and Chief. 1 TIM. 1. 15.
2d. If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his Cross daily, and follow me. ST. LUKE. 9. 23.
the Son of man is come to save that which was lost. MATT. 18. 11.
I am not come to call the Righteous, but Sinners to repentance. St. MATT. 9. 12.
him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. ST. JOHN. 6. 37.

Pay thy vows to the Most high. PSA. 50. 14.
I wear this Rembrance of my vow to my God to abstain from all Spiritous Liquors, except in a case of real necesity which vow I have made this 21st. day of March AD 1776. to be continued my Life time by the Grace of God. for bear my kind friend, to offer to me any Spiritous Liquor, but manifest your Love, and kindness some other friendly way.

I am

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

Let Virtue guide your Noble Mind Joseph Johnson.
June 10th AD 1776. on Monday Morn.^{g}

George Washington to Joseph Johnson

Sir,

I am very much pleased to find by the Strong recommendations you produce, that we have amongst our Brothers of the Six Nations a person who can explain to them, the Sense of their Brothers on the dispute between us and the Ministers of Great Britain; you have seen a part of our Strength, and can inform our Brothers, that we can withstand all the force, which those who want to rob us of our Lands and our Houses, can send against us.

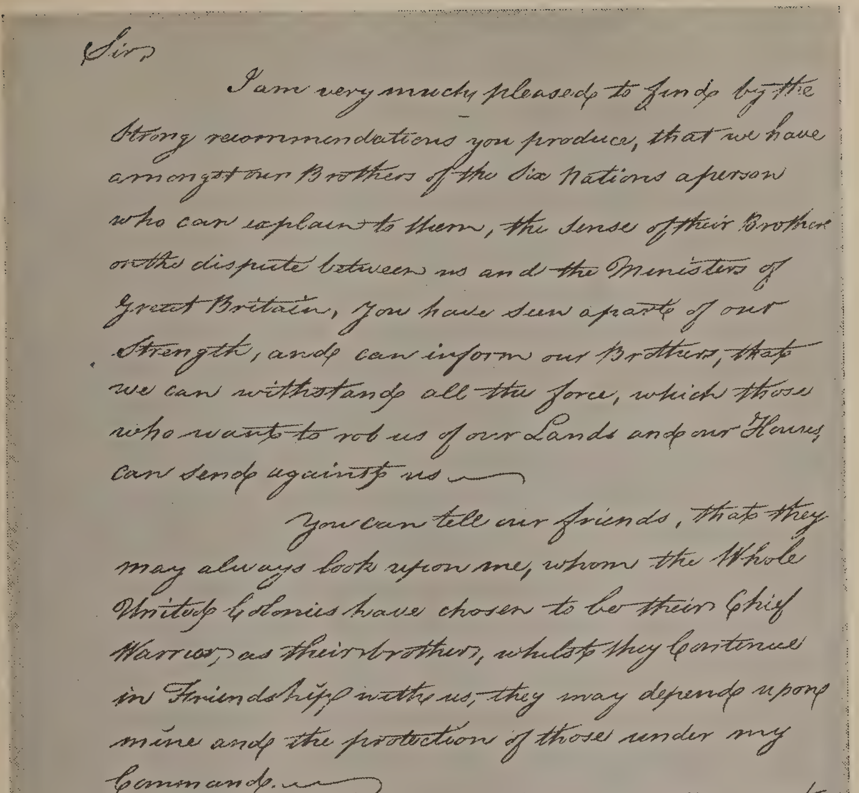
You can tell our friends, that they may always look upon me, whom the Whole United Colonies have chosen to be their Chief Warrior, as their brother, whilst they Continue in Friendship with us, they may depend upon mine and the protection of those under my Command.

Tell them that we don't want them to take up the hatchett for us, except they chuse it, we only desire that they will not fight against us, we want that the Chain of friendship should always remain bright between our friends of the Six Nations and us. Their attention to you, will be a proof to us that they wish the same, we recommend you to them, and hope by your Spreading the truths of the Holy Gospel amongst them, it will Contribute to keep the Chain so bright, that, the malicious insinuations, or practices of our Enemies will never be able to break this Union, so much for the benefit of our Brothers of the Six Nations and of us.

And to prove to them that this is my desire, and of the Warriors under me, I hereto Subscribe my name at Cambridge this 20th day of February 1776.

G. Washington

Mr. Joseph Johnson.



Sir,

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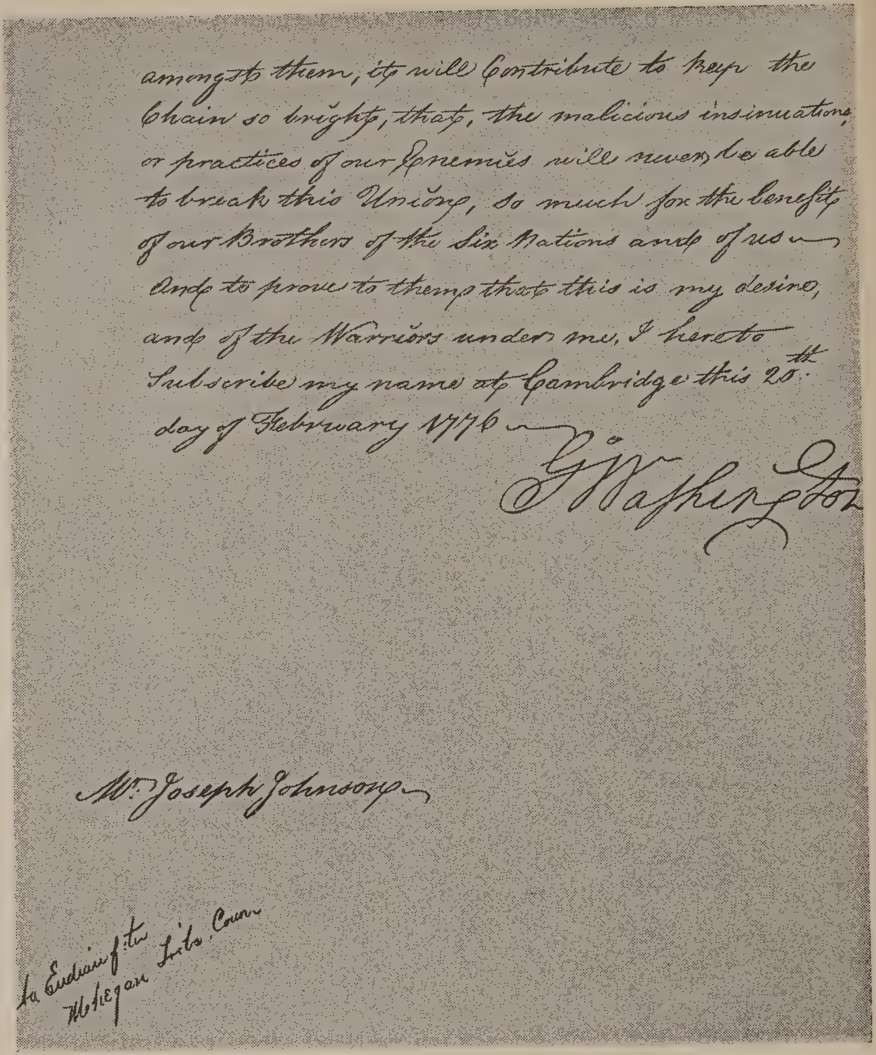
Tell them that we don't want them to take up the hatchet for us, except they chuse it, we only desire that they will not fight against us, we want that the Chain of friendship should always remain bright between our friends of the Six Nations and us — their attention to you, will be a proof to us that they wish the same we recommend you to them, and hope by your Spreading the truths of the Holy Gospel

amongst

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH JOHNSON. *Reduced from original in possession of Dartmouth College. Second sheet of letter on verso of this page. For text see page 198.*



amongst them, it will Contribute to keep the Chain so bright, that, the malicious insinuations or practices of our Enemies will never be able to break this Union, so much for the benefit of our Brothers of the Six Nations and of us — And to prove to them that this is my desire, and of the Warriors under me, I hereto Subscribe my name at Cambridge this 20th day of February 1776 —

G Washington

Mr. Joseph Johnson —

an Indian of the
Mohegan Tribe, Conn.

Christopher Leffingwell to Jonathan Trumbull

Norwich 3d *June* 1776.

TO THE HON^{le} JONATHAN TRUMBULL ESQ.^{r}

SIR

The Bearer Mr. Joseph Johnson an Indian Missionary: Being Strongly Recommended by the Congresses of New York, & New Hampshire as Also by his Excellency General Washington Having purposed to Return to his Mission among the Indians to the Westward Some time ago But being detain'd at Mohegan by Reason of his Wifes Sickness untill now and having Spent all his Money Applied to me for Some to Leave with his Family for their Support in his Absence I Take the Liberty of Recommending him to your Honour & the Hon^{bl} General Assembly as a person that at this Time might be Very Serviceable to the Common Cause of America and advised him to Apply to your Hon^{r} & the Assembly for Assistance and have Supply^{d} him Two dollars to Bear his Expences to Hartford if my Advice & Recommendation meets the Approbation of Your Hon^{r} & that Hon^{le} House—hope they will be kind Enough to order the Money I have Advanced Refunded theirs & Your Honours Most Obed^{t} H^{ble} Sert

CHRIST^{r} LEFFINGWELL

THE HON^{le} JONATHAN TRUMBULL *Esq*^{r}
Governour
at the General Court
Hartford
p MR. JOSEPH JOHNSON

Tobias and John Shattock, NARRAGANSETS

TOBIAS SHATTOCK, *and his brother, John, had hoped to unify the Narragansets and to prevent their sachem, Ninegret, from selling the tribal lands.*

They entered Moor's Charity School December 16, 1766, (Tobias's wife and child entered December 29) and remained for about a year, when they were recalled by the Indian Council of the Narragansets. Shortly after they left Wheelock they crossed the Atlantic (in 1768) hoping to enlist Crown aid in preserving the lands of the Narragansets. They landed at Greenock. On May 6, 1768, Tobias died in Edinburgh of smallpox, aged twenty-six. John traveled to London as representative of the tribe, but failed in his mission. On his return home he served as schoolmaster at Stonington under the Boston Board, and died December 21, 1770, of consumption.

Tobias and John Shattock

Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock

May it pleas your honour. we would Inform you, that we have Been to the Honorable commisoners in Boston; (who appears to us, to Be very Honourable Gentlemen) and Have obtain'd a free School, or at Least, Some assistance. we take you to Be a Good Friend to us. we are Inform'd by Brother Tobias Shadick, that you manifested a freedom to help us. we humbly pray, that you would Remember our tribe in your pertition. we have Been conversant with M.r Occom; and he Give us Encouragement, that he would Speake a word, to you in our favour; and Likewise to y.e commisoners. moreover we desire you to Remember our Tribe, with a few Lines, to S.r William. if you can give us further Light in Any of our affairs, or See any thing that will Be Beneficial; that I can do, I Should be glad, if you would Send me a Letter. I have Been very Industerous: In trying to unite y.e Indians, and have in a good Degree, obtain'd my Desire: Blessed Be god for it. I purposed in my mind, to have gone to S.r William my Self. But my Business is So, that I cannot. we have appionted, Thomas Coyhez to go, and if he can do you any Service, By carring Letters, to S.r William we have order'd him to do it.

I Desire you would Remember me in your Travils

from your most obedient; and Humb.e Ser.t

TOBIAS SHADICK

Charlestown October
y.e 16th *Day AD* 1765

Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^e 27 of *August* Anno D 1766.

Rev^d S^r

I would Inform you, that I look upon y^r offer of giving me three months Schooling as a token of great respect. my business, and affairs relating the tribe of Indians, are in Such order that I can clostly attend this Winter; if I Should be Bless'd with Helth. if you are of y^e Same Mind now; I Should be glad you would let me know it, by a few lines by the first Conveyance.

From S^r your Most Obedient Humble Serv^t

TOBY SHADDICK

PS Brother John has a great desire to be Educated in y^r School. he is a likely young Man, and Naturely very Ingenious. if there is Room for Him in y^r School, and you would take him He will Joyfully come. TOBY SHADDICK

I Should be glad if you wou'd not let my mind be Publickly known at Present.

T.S.

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Samuel Niles[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^e 15 of *Jan^y* AD. 1767.

Rev^d S^r—,

I hope I shall not offend you, by Shewing this Token of love, being a poor Native: Your Christian care in promoting religious knowledge among y^e poor Indians, has Greatly won my Heart. My prayer to GOD is that you may be assisted from above, & persevere in y^r laudable Design to y^e advancement of the Redeemers Kingdom.

I shou'd esteem it a favour, cou'd I groe into acquaintance with You, and all other Good Men; especially those that are Concern'd for the well-fare of My Nation. I am thankful that you have gratefully allow'd My Son Toby to receive Instruction in Your School. I hope 'twill be for his Good, and his fellow-tures.

'tis in My mind to take your House in my way to Nahantick, and have some Conversation with you; if you please.

I am, S^{r} Your Most Obedient Hum^{bl} Serv^{t}

SAML NILES

TO THE REV^{d} M^{r} WHEELOCK

REV^{d} S^{r}—,

I take this oppertunity to express my Joy that You have admitted Toby Shaddick into Your School, to receive Instruction. His Moral Character is Good. His Behaviour has been such for a course of years, that He's won the Hearts of Boath English, and Indians. He appears to be a Person Devoted to do Good among Man-kind in General: In perticular among the Narraganset Indians. He's Just in his Dealings with all Men in Domestick affairs; (considering the disadvantage He labours under on account of Education) in matters of Religion-Inferiour to none that ever I Saw in that Nation.—if You acquaint your Self with him, You'll find him to be a Person aiming to Answer y^{e} end of his Creation.— I make no Doubt You'll take pleasure in Instructing Him in y^{e} most fundamental principles of Religion—I shou'd esteem'd it a Happiness to had him in My School, if his chance wou'd been equal with what it may be now; which I'm Sinsable wou'd not, if I was as capable of teaching as y^{r} Son, by reason my School is So crowded with Children.— *I am, (Rev^{d} S^{r}) with great respect Your most obedient Humble Serv^{t}*

EDW^{d} DEAKE

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[1] *An Indian preacher, unlettered. He was the "spiritual father" of Tobias. This letter is in Deake's handwriting.*

Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^{e} 28th of *Sept*^{r} *AD* 1767

REV^{d} SIR

I now Inform you that I've got a Boy according to your request, who ap-pears to be a promising Youth. The Council is of opinion twou'd be best for M^{r} Wheelock to take him upon Tria three months by that time you'll able to make some Judgment what sort of a Man he will make.

In grateful remembrance of Christian Friendship & Civility

I am (Rev^{d} *Sir y*^{r} *most obedient humble Servant*
& Sign'd in behalf of y^{e} *Council*

TOBIAS SHATTOCK

Sareh Simon[1] tels me that She had no Company to come up with her & I told her She better Sta two three days longer & take her Brother with her Jams Simon his name is as for Sareh Simon she has behav'd very well since She has been at home

I believe our Indians find Som raframation in her by what I can Larn by Som of them

[1] *See pp. 228 ff.*

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Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^{e} 2^{d} of *October Ad* 1767.

REV^{d} S^{r},

I've got home well, and have found my Friends in Helth through the goodness of God. I wou'd now Inform You that affairs which Concern us about our Land, appears somewhat Incouraging. The Hon^{le} Andrew Oliver Esq^{r} has wrote to our Governor concerning the Sachems conduct; and after a warm debate the Governor obtain'd a vote that no more Land shou'd sold, 'till his Pleasure was further known, and that he is Cited to appear to the next Assembly. S^r^ William gives Incouragement that something shall be speedily done in our favour. As soon as I can git the Advice of my Friends, I can give You a more Perticular account. Tis oweing to the bad conduct of the Sachem that I came from the School. In reguard to my Bretheren I'm Determin'd to exert my self to do somthing in their favour, to save their Substance that they may live together, and Injoy the rich Favours so lately bestow'd upon them. The Indians are very thankful that You wrote in their favour to S^{r} William, especially when they heard how agreeable y^{e} letters were to y^{e} Generals Mind. It appears to me that y^{r} Influance on y^{e} Indians is greater than ever; & if You keep to y^{e} agreement to take from our tribe none but Such as are recommended by y^{e} Council, Your Influence will increase. That if we shou'd move to or near Onida, we shall be of great service to You in promoting your worthy Design.

I dislike y^{e} behavour of Boys that goes from y^{e} School, and gives it bad character. I've so much reguard for the School, that all the Boys that is sent to You from our Tribe, for y^{e} futer, Shall by their Parents be given up to live with You 'till they arrive to the age of twenty one Years, if You desire it.

In grateful remembrance of Friendship, & Civility, with cordial love to y^{e} Schoolmaster,

I am (Rev^{d} S^{r} with great respect)
Your most Obedient hum^{l} Serv^{t}

TOBIAS SHATTOCK

Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^{e} 30 of Nov^{r} AD. 1767.

REV.^{d} D^{r},

I receiv'd Yours of the 9th Instant in Six days after date, & shall Indeavour to send y^{e} Boys according to Your desier. When I shall return to my Study I can't tell at present. The general Assembly, at their last Sessions appointed five Trustees, & past an Act, that there shall be as much of our Land sold, as will remit y^{e} Sachems debts, & cost of Conveyance, which in my apprehension will ruin y^{e} Tribe. That our Tribe Insists upon my going to England for redress, & have furnish'd me with writings for y^{e} purpose; but whether we can raise money sufficient I can't tell: the want of that may prove a final stop to us. If we can't raise it among ourselves bettween this & Spring, I'll try if my Friends abroad will commiserate our case; if not we must give y^{e} point up.

I've Inform'd my Bretheren, that You have so far commiserated our Case as to say, that if we cou'd do no better You wou'd Send our Case to y^{e} Earl of Dartmouth Yourself, which greatly won the affection of our People; yet they chuse (if possible) to compleat their design without burdening their Friends too much. If we can do no more, we Shall try to Secure what we are in possion of, & dispose of y^{e} Same, & Imbrace S^{r} William's offer. Since we have had Incouragement from Gentlemen in other. Governments y^{e} Indians that stands for y^{e} Sachem rages dredfully, especially M^{r} Garret ('tis strange that a man Shou'd hate his friends!) however his Influence is but Small among us. As I tho't 'twas best for Moley to return, have advis'd her too, & Suppose she will. Her behavior has been commendable Since she has been down.

From S^{r} Your Humble Servant

TOBIAS SHATTOCK

I told Charles's Father[1] you tho't 'twas best for Charles to live with a good Farmer a year or too, which Seem'd to affront them, that they wont send him again; notwithstanding I told them he wou'd continue a member of y^e^ School, & afterwards learn a good Trade if it Suited him.

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[1] *See p. 231.*

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Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^e^ 10 *of December AD.* 1767.

Rev^d^ Doct.^r^

I now Inform You, y^t^ y^e^ Circumstance of my Bretheren calls me into England, thro' kind Indulgent Providence, I'm like to go much sooner than I expected. Capt^n^ W^m^ Chase has offer'd me a Passage to England, in his Ship, which kind offer I shall thankfully Imbrace. I'm truly Sorry to leave my Study so soon, but can't help it. For y^r^ kindness to me, my Wife & Child, also the Degree of Learning I got in y^r^ School, wou'd now address myself to You in y^r^ deepest Sense of Gratitude, & Thanks.

As you have been a great Friend to me, You need not fear, but that I shall Speak in favour of Your School.

As, (I hope,) You have a near Intercorse with Heaven, I ask an Interest in your Prayers, that God, y^e^ Desposer of all Hearts wou'd raise me up true Friends, to lay our Misery before his most Sacred Majesty & his most Hon: Privy Council, & that I may be favour'd with y^e^ Gracious Influance of his Holy Spirit.—We shall Sail y^e^ first fair Wind.

In grateful remembrance of Friendship, & Civility, with cordial Love to all my acquaintance, I am, Rev.^d^ S.^r^ (with great respect) y^r^ Hum^l^ Serv^t^

Tobias Shattock

P.S. As to y^e^ Boys you wrote for, I left y^s^ affair with Mr Deake, and the Council of Indians.

T.S.

Eleazar Wheelock to George Whitefield

Lebanon Decr 17th 1767

REVD *&* VERY DEAR SIR

This is only to introduce y^e^ bearer, my friend Tobias Shattock to your notice & respect. I knew nothing of his embarking for Europe, till he advised me of it by a line a few minutes ago, y^t^ he designs to sail with y^e^ next fair wind.

He & his brother have been a little while members of my school, they behaved well & made laudable proficiency in reading & writing—I am quite sorry they ha'n't had longer opportunity to be instructed, & especially as Tobias is, in a judgment of charity. a real christian & likely in time to be fitted for Special usefulness—The Tribe depend much upon him to conduct their Affairs for them. He will be able to represent to you, the calamitous state they are in. thro' y^e^ extravigance & intemperance of their Sachem. I very much pity them—if they can't find redress in this suit they are undone—it may be god is designd to thrust out the christians among them, to make a new settlement; and carry y^e^ gospel with them, among the western savages. I trust you will not be unwilling to assist him with your advice, or any other way that friendship shall dictate. I fear he has not been suitably advised of y^e^ necessity of credentials in such an Affair. however I hope god will appear for y^e^ help & relief of y^e^ oppressed, and by his means work deliverance for his tribe—excuse my haste & confusion; & pray for

Yours in the Dear Jesus

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

REV.^d^ GEORGE WHITEFIELD

Alexander Mowbray to Eleazar Wheelock

Edinburgh 14th *May* 1768

M^{r} ELEAZAR WHEELOCK
REV^{d} & DEAR SIR

Your Pious purposes & painfull endeavours for Christianizing the Indians has rendered your name dear & valuable to the people of God in Brittain & Especially in Scotland—I little thought of ever having a call in providence to write you & sorry I am for the present call (saving the will of the Lord)—

Tobias & John Shattock of the Narraganset Tribe the first of whom I hope fell asleep in the Lord on Friday the 6th instant at 4 oClock in the morning—And as I in addorable providence had the sole care & concern of them since they came to this City as youl see in the Sequel—at the desire of John as well as my own Inclination to gratify you & all Concerned I send you the following Acco^{t} Jn^{o} tells me the Rev^{d} M^{r} Rodgers at New York was to write you the occasion of their coming to Scotland I therefore pass it—please then know that the Rev^{d} Doctor Clark who a few years ago went to America being occasionally at New York when T. & Jo^{n} came there, he with M^{r} Rodgers &c. took a concern for the young men & gott there passage free in a Ship belonging to Greenock in the west of Scotland—56 Miles distant from this place—M^{r} Clark my dear friend & long Correspondent wrote me a letter by them & recommended them to my care & good offices when they came to Edinr (as some fruits of your School) when they came to Greenock one of the owners of the Ship with whom I correspond wrote me of their landing & of their being recommended by M^{r} Clark to my Care when they come to Edin^{r} & to bespeak their passage in a good ship from here to London. I did so & wrote him accordingly —On the 15th of April they came in the Stage Coach from Glasgow to my house in Edi^{nr} while they tarried here for the Ship I took a lodging or Room for them in a house adjoining to my own

& caused them Eat at my table while they should stay in Town—the Ship was to have Sailed on Monday the 18th of April—but by Excessive high winds the Capt could not carry out the Passangers in a Pennice or small boat to the Ship in the road of Leith till friday the 22d—On the 21 in the afternoon Jno T. & I being at Leith, Jno Complaind his head Aiked much we Sent him to Ednr in the Stage Coach & T. & I walked on foot it being only one mile distant—on friday before the Ship sailed I ordered their Trunk on Shore & brought it to Edinr again (as it was put on board on Monday Eve the Ship went out of Leith harbour) till I should see the Issue of Jnos Complaint—a Surgeon was immediately Called, & his Sickness Increasing—a Doctor was Called Tobias Complained on Saturday & that day the small pox was seen on John & upon Tobias the next day being Sabb. 24th as we live in a City where the best help is to be had of any place in Brittain, Physicians was gott & Mr *Benjn Rush* a student of Physic from Philida for present at our College Came & brought 4 of the best Physicians in Town & Professors in the Colledge—they all visited good Tobias house & some times thrice a day he having very bad Symptoms from the begining the pox never Rising—a Seperate room was had for Each, in the same house Nurses were hyred to Attend them constantly & my wife laid aside all Concern in the family in order to attend & gett them caired for—The News flying thro' the Town—the Compassion of many Godly people were moved for them, the door of our house was Seldom shutt for people enquiring after them—Mr Chas Beattie Minr from Pensilvania, who was at Greenock when they Landed came to Edn with them visited them dayly as did the Revd Mr Jno Erskine & oyrs my wife who is an Excellent hand about a person in distress & of a Compassionate heart (tho I say it) fearing Tobias from the first discovery of the Pox as she said they looked bad & he was very feverish seldom left him in particular but to take her Victuals & return again Even to his last, & when he would refuse to take drink or medicines from oyrs he would pleasantly take them from Mr Rush, her or I. as he was 4 days blind Ere he fell aSleep he knew our Voices to the last never Complained But resigned to the will of the Lord, & told me he was at the will of the Lord what day or what hour he should call for him —he was now in his distress become as dear to us as our own Son— the night or the day was alike for us to be with him—& for 3 nights Ere he died we were not in bed till 5 oClock in the morning as any reviving he had was after 3 or 4 in the morning But the Lords time being come, the Soul took wing a quarter before 4 on Friday Morning the 6th instant—We sent for the Revd Mr Beattie to Intimate the dispensation to Jno & for Mr Erskine also—both spoke Sutiably to him we having prepared him for it two days before By intimation of his Broyrs danger—As the Corp would not keep it was thought proper to burrie him on Saturday Evening the 7th @ 6 oClock I performed the last act of Duty to him with a sore heart by Carrying his head to the Grave Mr. Beattie was at the right Shoulder Mr. Erskine the left & a number of oyr Minrs & Gentlemen round the Pall—the best people in Town were Invitted & attended the Funeral & in our Church yard was interred the first Christian Indian that ever we heard of very near the place where is Interred the bodys of these who Suffered for the word of Christs patience in Scotland, against Oppressing powers—I would not troubled you with the one half of this long affair but that you may have occasion to tell to his friends & tell them in great truth that had they been Kings Sons no more could have been done for them than what was done.

John is now in a good way as could be wished & intends to go by Sea to London on tuesday the 18th inst in Compy with the Revd Mr Beattie, his Sister in Law & one Dr Stapelton a Physician who will all befriend him, & Mr Beattie will do him all the service possible—I have collected Some Pounds for Jno Gott him a Suit of fine Murnings & as Tobias required the Lordlord[1] & I, before his Death, that if he was taken away we should declare upon Oath that all the power & Authority that he had from his tribe to represent their Grevence at the Court of London bee devolved over upon John & that it was his Earnest desire he should go to London & there do all that he Either would or Could have done had he been there—this declaration I have made with the landlord before the Mayor of our City & got the Towns Seal affixed to it—So that I hope he shall Succeed & return to you with Joy—I hope this dispensation will not be lost upon Jo^n he Expressed himself very suitably on the occasion & said some things to my wife which She telling to Tobias he clapd his hand on his Breast & said good news good news—I now must Conclude by beging my best Respects to good Mr Whitaker & Mr Occam both of them I had sometimes in my house & M^r Occam was Severall times—If you shall ever make me any return you need only direct as below—I ever am with much Esteem

Rev^d & D.^{r} Sir
Your most Obed Humb Serv^t

ALEX^r MOWBRAY
Merch^t in Edin^r

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[1] *Should have been written "Landlord."*

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Joseph Fish[1] *and John Shattock, Sr., to Eleazar Wheelock*

Stonington Jany 30 1771

REV^d DEAR SIR,

A few days after the Date of *John Shattocks* Letter to me, (on this Sheet, the other Side,) I receivd it; with a Postcript, earnestly requesting me to Send a Copy corrected to the Rev^d Doct^r *Wheelock,* with a view that, if it came in the Doctors way, he might communicate an Acc^t of *Johns* Death to Mr *McCurg* in Edinborough & to M^r *Cummin* in London—Accordingly, to oblige my friend *John,** (*the father) I have transcribed his Letter, Verbatim, excepting a very few words to help yᵉ Sense a little.

This young man, whose death we Speak of, was a very Serious, honest, faithfull man, as I have reason to think. I employed him 4 months as Schoolmaster to yᵉ Indian Children at Stonington, in the Honˡᵉ Commisioners Service: and he greatly recommended himself, as a *master,* to me & the Indians. But he began to lanquish with the Consumption (of which he died) before he left us. As to his religious Sentiments, touching the outwᵈ Form of worship, I suppose they were Something of the *Separate* way: but this life was very short, after his publick profession—he might have Seen Cause to correct Some things, had he livd: but as above, I verily believe him to be Sincere & honest hearted.

His Dying Exhortation to his Father, "To be faithfull to Souls" may need Explanation; in that, by it, Strangers might think his Father a *Minister of yᵉ Gospel,* or as least, a public Teacher: whereas he is only One that takes Liberty in the Indian way, to exhort frequently, & has sometimes gone out to hold meeting &c: when it might be much better, & more proper, for him & many others, if they were *more Swift to hear & Slow to Speak.*

But My Dear Sir,

Which way shall these Lines reach you? Where will they find you? How is it with you & your Dear Wife & Children, in yon new world? Can I hope every to see you again, while travelling thro this weary land? I ardently long for an Interview. Pray write me, if tis but Six Lines—Twill be as *good News from a far Country.* I have neither Time nor room to Say more, than that my only child, Daughᵗʳ Noqs (?) & her 3 Sons all she has living, are with us this winter—In a measure of Health—my Dear Love to you & your Dear Ones—

Sincerely yours

JOSEPH FISH

Charlestown 30th Decr 1770

Revd Sir,

I now acquaint you, that on ye 21 Instant my Son *John* departed this Life, about 4 o'clock in ye morning—A heavy Stroke from ye Divine hand! however, I have Consolation mingled with my Sorrow,—I'm not left to mourn as one that mourns without hope. He departed in the Triumphs of Faith. So that I have no reason but to think, that my Loss is his gain. He was buried decently on ye 22d.

His last words were as follows—after enquiring the time of night, he said, "I have but a few minutes to Stay with you. Death "has lost its Sting, & the Grave its Victory—Father, hold out to the "end—Be faithfull to Souls—be faithfull unto Death." His Speech by this time faild, so that I understood no more he Said.

In his Sickness he often expressed great kindness for his Instructors and held himself under the Strongest Obligations of Gratitude to the Divine hand, as the efficient cause, and to the Revd Doctr *Wheelock,* as the principal Instrument of his acquaintance with Gods word and was very desirous to See him, in the time of his Illness, and I should have Sent for the Doctor, had not the Distance been too great.

God has blessed me with Twelve Children, and has calld Nine of them out of the World. I have no reason to think but they are all at rest,—Six of them dying in their Infancy—My Son Peter was 25 years old—A Professor, and, in a judgment of Charity, a real Saint. Tobias was 26 years of age, when he departed this Life. He was educated at Doctor Wheelocks School, and was a man remarkable for piety. John, whom we have just parted with, was in his 24th year.

Kind Sir, you most humble Servt

John Shattock

Copy Joseph Fish

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[1] *Minister at North Stonington, Conn., 1732-81 (Sprague,* Annals).

Eleazar Wheelock to Alexander Mowbray

Dartm College in the Province of New Hampshire
Octb^{r} 15. 1771

DEAR SIR

A few days ago I recd a Letter from the Rev^{d} M^{r} Fish of Stoningtown dated Jany 30 1771 inform.^{g} me of the Death of John Shattock the Indian who was sick & was doubtless savingly converted to Christ at your house. But by what means M^{r} Fishe's Letter was so long delay'd I cant tell. I han'd time to give you the full Accto^{t} he appear'd to be a real & a growing Saint I have often heard him speak of your kindness with a Gratitude remarkable for one of that Nation, before I removed here into this wilderness which is about 200 miles from the Indian town where he died. And as M^{r} Fish informs me his father expressed a desire that I should send you the acco^{t} of his Son's Death, I will transcribe the Letter in which he gives the Acco^{t} of it, to the Revd Mr. Fish—see the Letter on foregoing page—

The foregoing is a true Copy, excepting Mr Fish says he alter'd a few words only to mend the Grammar. The expression to his father, *be faithful to Souls,* may need explanation, viz his father is not a minister as a stranger may naturally think from that expression, but a zealous Christian who is forward to labor for the good of Souls in a more private way. I esteem the loss to the tribe to be very great, & it seems to spread a malancholy gloom upon the general design that so many of the most likely & promising which I have educated are removed. But God's way is in the Sea. I order'd a narrative to be inclosed to you some months ago but fearing it has failed I have order'd the bearer of this to inclose another at Hartford in Connecticut & direct them to the care of M^{r} Jon^{o} Mason of Boston. to whose care you may also direct yours to me. I am here in the wilderness continually crouded with business. my prospects are very encouraging. God has been with us of a truth. and has caused much of his Goodness to pass before us. I have a sweet nest of Christians I trust in this nursary, which is & has been the soveran solace God has afforded to balance the malancholy things you will read in my narrative.

I write now in utmost haste, have detain'd the Bearer while I do it. please accept sincere Respects to yourself & Lady from Dear Sir

Your unknown but assured
*Friend & humble Serv*t

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

MR. ALEXANDER MOWBRAY

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Abraham Simon[1] *to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Groton C*t *Oct*r 17th 1774

REV'd AND HONOUR SIR

I would Inform you a Little about my affairs and where I am at present I purpose to begain a School here to morrow and take it for Six Months for I have been very Badly Dissipinted about Money ever Since I have been Down so that I think it best to keep School till Spring.

About that account that is between the College and me as Quick as I can possiblely settle it I will and I hope the Dr will not go to becrowding of me for I always mean to Settle with every one as Quick as lay in my Power and I have some hopes of being after a while if I have my Health and prossper I am very Sorry that I did not take Better Care in time But I think now it will do me good for Time to come so that I shall understnd who to Deal with and Who to not

I should be glad it the D^r^ would send me a Recommendation for I do know that I have Done anything that I have no write to one though I must confess that my conduct has not been very good in agreat many respects but I can but hope that D^r^ will Look over many of my Faults and help me all that He can Jacob Fowler has bought my Horse and has given me a Note is to send me an oder Down upon Capt Backuse and I beg that D^r^ will give Him an oder because I am absolutely in need of one For I cannot get Money to purchase Clothing till Spring not till such Time I can get some for keeping School—

I would have the D^r^ keep Counsel and not tell any Body where I am or like to be so I am your unworthy Servent

ABRAHAM SIMON

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[1] *One of five children sent to Wheelock by Sarah Simons, a pious Narraganset widow. These were: (1) Emanuel, entered April 10, 1763, went away two months later, and on April 1, 1767, asked to be readmitted. He enlisted in 1775, and about 1800 removed with his family to Brothertown, where he died in 1806. (2) Sarah, entered Dec. 13, 1765, and was still in the school in 1769. (3) James, entered 1767, enlisted 1775. (4) Abraham, entered 1768 or 1769. He and his brother Daniel were the only Indians who removed with Wheelock from Lebanon, Conn. to Hanover. (Chase, 306.) In 1772 he set out with his cousin, John Mathews, to the Six Nations for recruits, but was sent back empty-handed. He succeeded Jacob Fowler as schoolmaster at Groton, enlisted in 1775, in 1785 was at Brothertown, of which he was one of the original trustees, and died about 1787. (5) Daniel, entered 1768 or 1769. He was the first, and only, Indian educated by Wheelock who received a college degree (Dartmouth, 1777) during Wheelock's life. He was licensed to preach in 1778, taught at Stockbridge, and in 1783 succeeded the Rev. John Brainerd as missionary to the Indians at Cranberry, N. J.*

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Abraham Simon to Eleazar Wheelock

Roxbury August 13th 1775

REV.^d^ SIR

as I have had and often been favoured with your kindnesses and good conduct towards me I think I should not Pay you the Gratitude that I owe you if I did not mention it in my writing. Tho I do not think that ever I shall be able to Pay you or make returns for them

Sir I can assure you all tho I did not mention them I have had them Still in my Mind and as I have had some Dissopointments the *world (?)* and am something Poor all that I can do is to not forget them but remember them and hope and wish for your Wealth and Prossperity and I think I do as far as I know myself both to you and your Family I want to come and see all but I cannot tell at Present when I can so I must hasten and give my account where I have Lived Since I left Dartmouth

I was Roundabout Last Summer and Did not get much untell Fowler went to Dartmouth and then I took the School which he left and kept it till sometime in April and then I sent Down for my Money and I could not get it from the Boston Board so I was oblige to brake up School upon that account the Indians wanted me to keep Longer but I thought it would not do

Then these Listing orders came out and I was so Foolish as to Inlist myself in the Service and am now att Roxbury in one of the Hospital Taking Care of the Sick and very bad (—?) but they seem to chuse me I nothing strange to recite only now and then we have had the Bullits and Bums flying over our Heads and the Small Pox got amongst us sometime ago

I am your unworthy Serv^{t}

ABRAHAM SIMON

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Daniel Simon to Eleazar Wheelock

Sept 1771

I now make bould to write to the most Reverend Doctor, when I Came frist to this School I understood that this School was for to bring up Such Indians, as was not able to bring up themselves, but the doctor is to learn them to work, but I have been to work Ever Since I have been able; and therefore if the doctor will let me follow my Studys, I Shall be thinkful, as I understood the doctor when I talked with him, that we must work as much as to pay our way; and if we Should, what good will the Charity money do the Indians; which was given to them, if we poor Indians Shall work as much as to pay for our learning, we Can go Some other pace as good as here for learning, if we are ablie to work and pay for our learning and I Say now, wo unto that poor Indian; or white man that Should Ever Com to this School, with out he is rich; I write as I think, and the doctor must not get mad with me, as I am a going to tell the doctor, what I think, I intend to deal with the Doctor as honnest is Ever the doctor had a Indian, and if the doctor dont let me follow my Studys more then I have don; I must leave the School, I Cannot Speand my time here, I am old, and I must improve all the time I Can if I undertake to get learning, and if I Cannot get learning here as I understood I might; I have no business here, and I must leave the School and if the doctor will let me go home to Charles town this fall I will Strive to get Sum body to pay the doctor his money for my learning, and if I Cannot I will Com back and pay the doctor for the jorney; and I will go to Studing arithmetic this winter, and in the Spring I will go a mong the Indians if the doctor and I Can agree, and if so be I can get any body to pay for my learning I shall follow my Studes, and if I Cannot I must leave the School, and if I have a Rong understaning of this School, I am willing to acknowledge but I belive I have not and so I writ no more but your most Dutiful pupil

DANIEL SIMON

I Should be glad if the doctor will give an answer to this

Daniel Simon, Daniel Babbit,[1] Benjamin Burt,[2] Peter Pohquonnoppeet[3] to Eleazar Wheelock

Dartmouth College Jan 16 1773

HONOURED SIR

We the subscribers do here by take it upon our Selves to petition and inform the most honourable President of our Situation and condition of our Studies. But when we come to view the goodness of providence where by we are intertaind with we have the Gratest reason to be thankful for them any previliges wich we are indulge with and would further Make bold to acquaint the Doctor with the injury That is done to our Studies by the Indians that Lives in the room against us they interrupt our Studies So that many times we cannot get So much att our recitations as we Should do They are Still no longger then the School last And all the rest of the time they are hollowing And making all manner of nise we have been In the room by times to ask them to be Still but They Seem to increse the noise more, we had Some Thoughts by the consent of the Doctor that they Should change rooms with Joseph that is Next to the Hall and there they will no body to Interrupt and we thought it our duty to Inform the Doctor this being hindred So much In our Studies and So we remain your gratiful pupils

DANIEL SIMON
DANIEL BABBIT
BENJAMIN BURT
PETER POHQUNNOPPEET

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[1] *Dartmouth non-graduate (1775-78).*

[2] *Dartmouth, 1778. Supposed to have been born in Longmeadow, Mass. Listed as dead in 1786 (Chapman).*

[3] *A Stockbridge Indian, Dartmouth, 1780. According to a letter quoted by Chapman (29) he would seem, but not clearly, to have been killed (poisoned) by a member of a faction opposing him at New Stockbridge, N. Y., (i.e., the settlement of the Stockbridge, Mass., Indians on the tract granted them by the Oneidas).*

Eleazar Wheelock to John Sergeant

Dartmouth College Jany 29, 1778.

To Mr. John Sergeant Missionary &c.
My dear Sir,

The Bearer Daniel Symons, AB. an Indian of the Narragansett Tribe has finished the ordinary Course of collegiate Studies here and has received the Honors of this College, and has also been Examined & Licenced to preach the Gospel by the Rev^d Grafton Presbytery as you may be certified by his Credentials and I may further say that ever Since he has been under my Care, So far as I know or have ever heard, behaved himself in an orderly, Sober, and Religious Manner, becoming his profession and Relation to this Chh of Christ of which he is Now a regular Member. and being Now about to travil abroad for a further Acquaintance with Men and things and wait on Providence to open a Door for his Usefulness, I do hereby Recommend him to the Charity, Kindness & civility of all Gentlemen & Christians, who may have Opportunity, and he Occasion for Expressions of the Same. He has kept my Schools on Several occasions to good Acceptance. And if You could introduce him into that Business in Your Vicinity where he might in his School instruct John Conkapot, & Aaron the ensuing Spring & Summer or 'till Provisions may be had for their Support here, and he also have Opportunity to preach as often as should be convenient, it would be very agreable to him & to me. I have wrote this not knowing what Your Situation is nor how much it may be in your power to Serve him and have done it with confidence y^t you will not be wanting if at any Time or in anything it may be in your way so to do. and if what I have wrote may be of any Service to him in his Travells You will please, when you have read it to put it into his Hands. Wishing You Prosperity in the Lords Work I am with Respect

Your cordial Friend & H^ble Servt.
Eleazar Wheelock

Daniel Simon to Eleazar Wheelock

Stockbridge Octr. 7th 1778.

HONOURRED AND WORTHY SIR,

I Cannot but have a great Sense and am apprehensive, that a Line from one who wishes the prosperity of you and all Concerning you, and especially with a respect not only to the Cause that you are engag'd in, but in particular to yourself, may afford you Some Satisfaction, by reason, it is from one, who is the fruit of your own Labour, and not only So, but from a benevolent Heart. —I have been preaching Some about the Country Since I left College, I don,t engage longe at a place on the account I am young in the ministery, People are very kind to me, Concerning my Support—but I am at present, keeping School at Stockbridge, where I have thirty and forty in my School, and Some times fifty, —I began my School the frist of May and engag'd for five months, have preached Some Since my keeping School in the Towns round about us and Supply'd the Pulpit for the great and good Mr. West, in his absence two Sabbaths, but Mr. W,t and I are not familiar, by reason I find that I am in, or near the Countre of Gravity—it is not allow^{d} for a Siner to pray here, because all things are ordained of God—and neither Cañ the Sinner Change the Council of the divine being by prayer—& & & &—but I may Say this,—that Some People,s God, is my divil. I would inform you, Sir, that instruct and Continue Aaron in his Studies, and I board at his father,s House,—I wish the doctor woul write me a line, when he Can recieve, him. I don,t know but I shall engage longer after my five Months are out,— but I must end wishing you prospirity in the promotion of Lord,s Works, hoping that if there Should be any door open the doctor will not be wanting in doing Service, & my greatest respects to you and your family, and others that may inquire this from your hum, Ser,t & &

DANIEL SIMON

Emanuel Simon to Eleazar Wheelock[1]

Charlestown ye 1 of Apl—AD 1767.

REV^d^ SIR,

Experiance has taught me that "Childwhood, and youth "is vanity." I might now been under your tuition, & been Instructed in the most fundamental principles of Religion, but alas, all this I've forfeted by leaving you! I unfeignedly acknowledge I was to blame in leaving you, but hope you are good anough to pardon me, and one more recive me into your School. Which I should esteem as the greatest favour.

I am, (Revd Sr with great respect,)
Your most obedient Huble Servt

IMMANUAL SIMON

If you receive this young man into your School, I hope you'll be able to make a good one of him, for I'm sure there's great need of it.

from ye most Huml Servt

EDWd DEAKE

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[1] *This letter is in Deake's handwriting.*

◆

Eleazar Wheelock to Sarah Simon

Lebanon June 27. 1768

Mrs SYMONS.

I receivd your James not to please myself but at your earnest Desire by your Daughter Sarah, who told me you had given him to me to bring up and despose of as my own Son, and only upon such Considerations I took him, and have kept him to School

ever since he has been with me till about three Weeks ago. I hired a Man to take him & instruct him in Husbandry which I found he was wholly ignorant of, and next winter I designd to take him into the School again, & fit him as fast as I can for a School Master, & when he is fit for it I designd to put him into good Business as I would a Child of my own— These were my Views & so I understood your proposal by your Daughter—but if I have not understood you right—if you intend to take him away from me, or encourage his going away as others have done after I have been at great Expence to educate him, or when he has half got his Education, I insist upon it that you let me know it now, before I spend any more Money to be thrown away upon him, there are hundreds who would be glad to come into his Room and be at my dispose as much my own Children are—
Please to send me word what I may depend upon, and if you chuse to have him come back to you, I assure you I dont want to keep him, as I never had any view but to his Good and the Good of the Indians in my taking him at first—You may depend upon it if he tarries with me I shall take the most affectual Method to learn him Husbandry as well as to read and wright,—please to let Mr Deake see this and desire him to write your answer to me—It greives & breaks my Heart that while I am wearing my Life out to do good to the poor Indians, they themselves have no more Desire to help forward the great Design of their Happiness here and Eternal Salvation in the World to come, but are so many of them, and some of them too, those on whom I have bestowed much Pains & Cost pulling the other way and as fast as they can undoing all I have done. Oh! that God would shew them their Misery, and the only way of their Releif.

Your Daughter Sarah carries herself very well, but I think it not best she should come home to visit you till the Fall—I wish you Prosperity with all my Heart and am

Your Real Friend
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

P.S. The Conditions upon which I take all the English Boys in my School are, that if they leve me before they have got their Learning, or go into other Business afterwards that pleases them better than the Indian Service they shall pay me all the Expence of their Learning and I think the Reason is as good with respect to your Son James

◆

Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock[1]

Charlestown ye 9th of October AD 1767.

DEAR Sr

I've great satisfaction, in the account my daughter Sarah has given me of Your pious care of those Children which are under Your tuition. In perticular, do express most harty Thanks, for the education of my Daughter. I've a little Son that I want You shou'd receive into Your School. if You wou'd, I shou'd except it as an Inesteemable Favour. and wholy give him up to You, to be altogether under Your wise Instruction, 'till he arrives to ye age of twentyone years: beging this favour only, that You wou'd at proper seasons, allow him ye privelidge of visiting me.

from yr very humble Servt

SARAH SIMON

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[1] *This letter is probably in Deake's handwriting.*

◆

Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock

Octobr the 12th AD 1767
Charleston

REV.r MR. WHEALOCK

Thes fewe Lines are to Lett you know that I am well att present—and I hop thes will find you in the same Condishon—I understand that my Dagter gives Mr Wheelock Grat Satisfacttion for which I am Glad and greatly Rejoyce and the Lord Reward you for your paines and Laber—for I Never shall be abel to Reward you for it for I Cannot be tankful enogh for thes preveloges—

I have sent my Lettel Son up to you take him to your Self and keep him in Subjection keep him as Long as you ples tel you think that he shall be Capabel of Bisness and if you want a Garl I have one about foreteen yares of age 3^d^ day of next Month I should be Glad if you would tak her upon the Same Consideration and if you Concloud to kae her I should tak it as a Grat favor if you would send me word as soon as you can My son Manwell Desir to be recld in to your Charety School for the desine he has for Larning is becas he Belevs that he is calld to be a publeck man so he thinks Larning to be nesessary—and so no more att present—Give my most humbel Regards to all your fameler and so I remain your humel Servent

SARAH SIMON

◆

Sarah Simon (the daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon May y^e^ 27 1768

REVEND AND HONRD SIR

This is to inform you that I wont Sume of your advice if you please Sir. that is I am so much unwell that I am not able to do any work the gratest part of my time: and my being So unwell it make me unesa: because I it is no prophet to the School for any one to be here and cant do any good to themsilves or others. but Sir when I am well I am willing to devot myselfe to the Cause that is if I thought I Ever Should do any good in the world. there Should be nothing in this life Should discorg me.

but the advice that I Should be glad to have from the docter is. I think it is bast for my helth to go of on the Salt weater: It ustd to do me good when I was Sick—

but then if the Docktor is not willing I have nothing more to Say for I would not do any thing to displease M^r Wheelock not for nothing at tall.

So I remain your most noworthy and Ever Dutyfull Sarvent

SARAH SIMON

◆

Sarah Simon (the daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon Apral 4th 1769

REVEND AND HONRD SIR

as I have Receved many kind favours I desire to bag one homble requast ond that is whether the Doctor would be willing to let me go to my home if I would not be gone no longer then if I only want to Mohegin. for I wont very much to See my Mother I understand She has mate with trouble latly and She wants see me and she is not able to come to See me. and tharfore I think it my gret Duty to go and See hir.

for I donot think that she is long for this world I have no Reson to thing so. for She is very weekly and always Sick. my Parant is very near and Dear to me: and being I do not desine to Ever to go home and live with hir again, I Desire to beg that favour to go and see hir as ofen as the Doctor is willing I should for I dont want to ofand the Doc^{tr} in the least. but I feel willing to do any thing Sir that you think is bast for me.

Oh how I orto Blease and adore that grat and kind God that put it in the hands some of his Pepple to take so much Care of the poor indions nee above all the rast. it Seems to me I could go any where or do any thing if it would do any good to my poor Parishing Brethren.

So I desire to Subscrib mysilfe your
Ever Dutyfull Sarvent

SARAH SIMON

Sarah Simon (the daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon Crank y^{e} 16th 1769

RE^{end} AND HON.rd SIR

I have been this Some time back thinking upon things of Religon; and I think thay do not look So plain to me as I have Seen them and I have great many weicked thoughts and I donot know what I Shall do if I donot ask Sombodys advise about it for I feel very bad about it; I have thought a quite while that I would Come and talk with the Dr but then I thought again that it will not do me any good; for I have talked with the D^{r} grant many times and if I do not mind them words that had been already Said to me I Shall have the more to answer for; So I thought I would not go no where to here any thing or no ask any qu^{ns} about any but I fear it is the works of Saton; and I have mind it till I am undone for Ever and I believe that Satan is besser with me than anybody els in this world Even when I go to Read he taks all my thoughts away upon Somthing Els and many temptation he las before me I thought I never would not till any body of it but as I was at home this after noon all alone I was thinking upon thise things and wondering what I Should do. and I thought of a book I had Read onse that when any one was at lost about any thing thay must go to there minster and inquire of them and these will lead you into it, and then I think it is my duty to Come and take your advise. and I what want to know is this am I uncurenble or not; the devil is jest Redy Sometimes to make me think that becase I have made a perfertion and do not alwas keep upright. and it seems to me all the true Christan never meats with Such a Struggle with Saton as I do and So that maks me fear that I am no Christan becase the Devil is So bese with me more than he is with any one Els. for when I go to try to pray he till me that it will not do any good nither will it merat any thing so he trys Every thing to put me back and o what Shall I do it Seam to me I Could writ all this night to you if it would do any good but I fear it will not. *So I Desire to Subcrib my Silfe your most humble and Ever*

Dutyfull Searvent

SARAH SINONS

◆

John Daniel[1] *to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Charlestown y*ᵉ 30 of *Nov.*ʳ *AD* 1767

REV.ᵈ SIR,

I would now acquaint You, that I always tho't Your School was free to yᵉ Natives; not to learn them how to Farm it, but to advance in Christian Knowledge, which wear yᵉ Chief motive that caus'd me to send my Son Charles to you; not that I'm anything against his Labouring some for You, when Business lies heavy on you: but to work two Years to learn to Farm it, is what I don't consent to, when I can as well learn him that myself and have yᵉ prophet of his Labour, being myself bro't up with yᵉ best of Farmers.——I am[2] willing he shou'd continue with You two or three Years longer to be kept to School. For what Learning you have given him, I'm very thankful for.

*From Y*ʳ *Humb*ᵉ *Serv*ᵗ

JOHN DANIEL

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[1] *A Narraganset.*

[2] *"Not" has been omitted. The letter was probably written by Deake.*

Recommendation from Eleazar Wheelock of Mundius

These certify that Mundias the Bearer an Onoida Indian Youth, is a Member of my Indian Charity School, and has been long Sick and lately raised from the Gates of Death; he has behaved well and is a promising Youth if God Shall Mercifully Restore his Health. He is accompanied by his Parents and Several of their Children Who have been down on a visit to him, and are now on their Return to Onoida. And I do hereby Recommend them to the Civilities Charities & Kindnesses of all who may have Opportunity to Shew, and they Occasion to receive the Same. commending them to the Care, Protection, and Favour of Almighty God, I Subscribe In Testimony hereof with my own Hand in Lebanon this 1st. Day of August AD 1768

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

◆

Confession of Hannah Nonesuch[1]

I Hannah Nonesuch do with shamefacedness acknowledge that on the Evening of the 8th Inst I was (by ye enticement of Sarah Weogs)[2] guilty of being at the tavern and tarrying there with a company of Indian boys & girls, for (what is commonly called) a frolick. where was much spirituous liquor drank, & much dancing & rude conduct & in tarrying to an unseasonable time of night, with much rude & vain company—all which conduct I am fully sensable is much to the dishonour of god & very prejudicial to the design & Reputation of this school & to ye good of my own soul, & the souls of my mates for which sinful & wicked conduct of mine I am heartily sorrey, & desire to lie low in the dust & do now beg forgivness of God, the Revd & worthy Doctor Wheelock, his family, & school, and all whom I have hereby offended—and I do promise that by the grace of god I will never offend by the like, or any other misconduct for time to come—and I desire & warn all my mates not to take occasion by this misconduct of mine to commit the like or any other Evil

her
HANNAH X NONSUCH
mark

Lebanon
March 11th. 1768 *Present* { DR WHEELOCK
B. WOODWARD[3]

[1] *A Mohegan, entered Moor's Charity School March 11, 1768.*

[2] *Or Wyog, also a Mohegan, entered April 20, 1762. According to a note by Wheelock she was rusticated in 1764, but probably was re-admitted.*

[3] *Bezaleel Woodward (1745-1804). Preceptor in Moor's Charity School. He was successively tutor, librarian, trustee, and treasurer of Dartmouth College, and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. He married Wheelock's daughter, Mary.*

Aaron Occom[1] to Joseph Johnson

DEAR SIR *Mohegan November* 9th 1768

I have opportunity to inform you that I am well at Pressent, and am hoping that you do injoy a good State of helth, Sir, I, reseavd a Leatter from you tother day, in which I do thank you for your Cindness, you rote Somthing about going to Sea, I cant tell you justly how the Pople are, Som are good Neatend and Som are not but in hool it is prety good bisness, &c&c

and So I must end for the messen. I hope I Shall See you fore long and then I will tell you more aboutet, &c

I am Still your true freind A.O. (AARON OCCOM)

your uncle is well and your ante, and your Sister is well and She is here at Mohegan.

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[1] *Son of Samson Occom, was thrice entered at Moor's Charity School: April 28, 1760, Dec. 3, 1765, Nov. 9, 1767. He was a poor student. At the age of eighteen he married an Indian named Ann Robin, and died Feb. 1771. Occom was much disappointed with him.*

John Sauch's Pass

These certify that the Bearer John Sauch an Indian Youth from Caghnawaga has been for Some Time a Member of the Indian Charity School under my Care, and being now agreable to a previous Appointment & y^{e} desire of his Father on a visit to his Friends in Canada, and not having Interested himself on either Side of the public Controversy of the present Day, is hereby recommended to the civility, Kindness, & Charity of all Gentlemen and Christians, as he Shall have Opportunity and Occasion for the Same in his passage thither, he behaving himself inoffensively.

Given under my Hand at Dartmouth College this 3^{d} Day of July, AD. 1775.

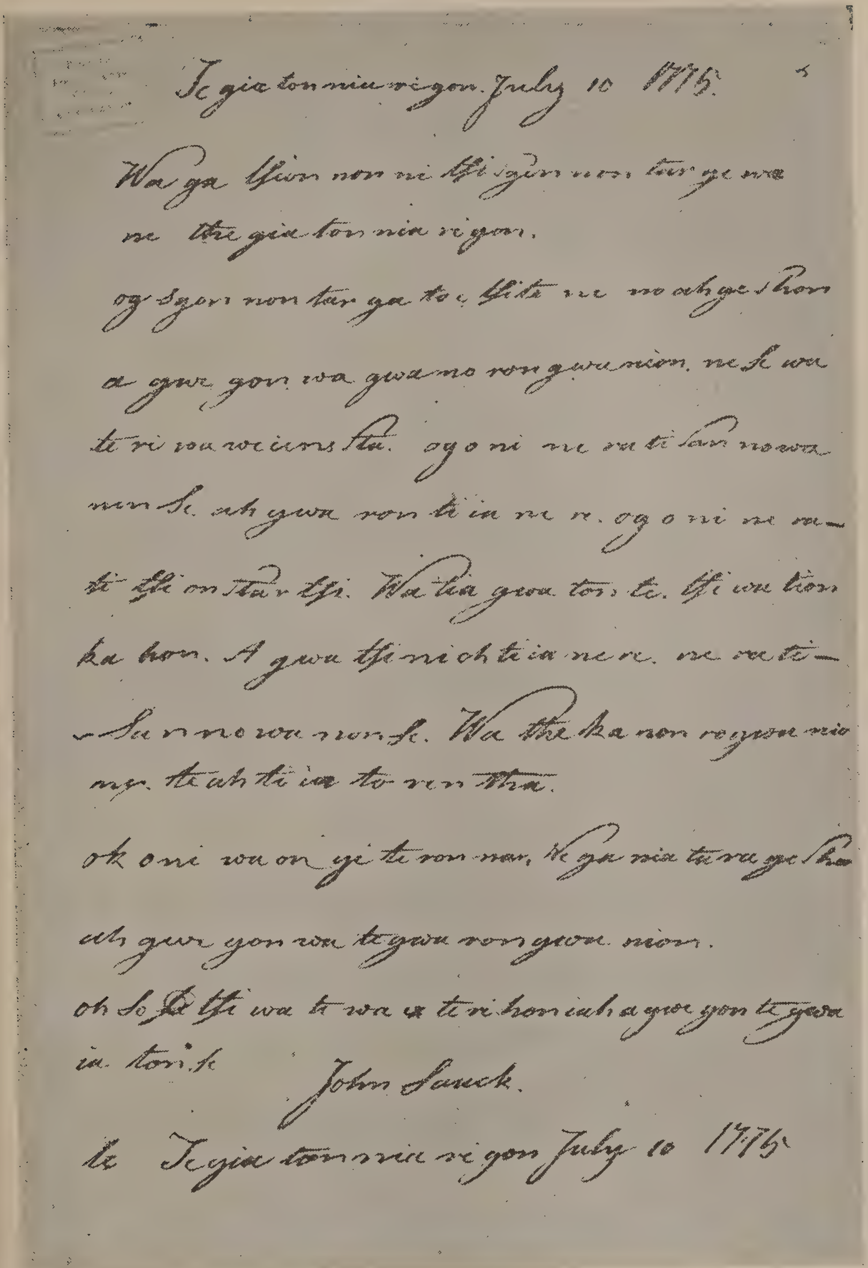
Eleazar Wheelock *President*
of S^{d} College

John Sauch to Eleazar Wheelock (?)

Te gia ton nia ri gon. July 10, 1775

Translation . . . Quebec . . . (Two mountains joining together.

Wa ga tsion non ni tsi sgin non tar ge wa ne the gia ton nia ri gon.
I am glad that I have arrived safely in Quebec.
Og sgon non tar ga to e tsite ne no ah ge shon.
I have passed on the road in safety.
A gwe gon wa gwa no ron gwa nion ne se wa te ri ou we iens sta.
I greet all of you—the students—.
Og o ni ne ra ti san no wa nen se ah gwa ron ti ia ne re;
Also the teachers—they are very nice . . (polite).
og o ni ne ra ti tsi on star tsi. Wa tia gwa ton te tsi wa tion ka hon.
also the priests. *We partook of a meal together.*
A gwa tsi ni oh ti ia ne re ne ra ti san no wa non se.
Educated people are so very well-bred.



Te gia ton nia ri gon July 10 1775

Wa ga tsion non ne tsi igon non tar ge wa
ne the gia ton nia ri gon.

og sgon non tar ga to, tsite ne no ah ge shon
a gwe gon wa gwa no ron gwe nion. ne se wa
te ri wa we iens tha. ogo ni ne sa ti lan nowa-
non se ah gwa ron ti ia ne re. ogo ni ne sa-
ti tsi on tar tsi. Wa tia gwa ton te. tsi wa tion
ka hon. A gwa tsi nich ti ia ne re. ne sa ti-
-se ri no wa non se. Wa the ka non re gon nio
ne. te ah ti ia to ren tha.

ok oni wa on gi te ron non, te ga nia te ra ge sha
ah gwe gon wa te gwa ron gwe nion.
oh So se tsi wa te wa ra te ri hon iah a gwe gon te gwa
ia tori se

John Sauck.

te Te gia ton nia ri gon July 10 1775

JOHN SAUCH TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK (?). Reduced from original in possession of Dartmouth College. For text see pages 234-235.

Wa the ka non ro gwa nio ne te ah ti ia to ren tha.
I greeted the judges—(professors).
Ok oni wa on gi te ron nar. Ne ga nia ta ra ge shon
They also accompanied me on the waters.
ah gwe gon wa te gwa ron gwa nion
I greet you all.
oh so tsi wa te wa x te ri hon iah a gwe gon te gwa ia ton se
I have written this in a rush, therefore I cannot give details.

JOHN SOUCK.

le Te gia ton nia ri gon July 10 1775
Quebec.

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[1] *The editor is indebted to Professor Josephine Williams of Caughnawaga, P. Q., for the deciphering and translation (from the Iroquois) of this letter.*

◆

Mary Secuter[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

Charlestown y^e^ 12^th^ of October AD 1767.

DEAR SR,

I understand that You said I might stay at Charlestown till Next Spring; I am bound to except it a token of Friend-ship that You allow so long time to Visit my Nation. But this wou'd be amuch longer Visit than I've a mind to make at present; I shall return home about Thanksgiving, if it be agreeable to your mind.

I am in a state of Helth through y^e^ goodness of God, and hope You are in Helth also.

from y^r^ most obedient humble Servant

MARY SECUTOR

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[1] *A Narraganset. Her name is given variously as Seketer, Sicketor, Secutor, Secuter, Sequetass, etc. She entered Dec. 17, 1763. From these letters (see also under Hezekiah Calvin) she does not seem to have been a strong character. Deake probably wrote this letter for her.*

Mary Secuter's Confession[1]

I Mary Sequatar acknowledge, and desire to do it with Shame and Blushing before God and all who are acquainted with my Sins, that I have been repeatedly Scandalously guilty of the Sin of Drunkeness and particularly last Evening being the Evening following the Lords Day Dec^{r} 27. 1767. I went into the School while I was intoxicated with Liquor and there behaved myself in a Lude and very immodest Manner among the School Boys, I also in a vile Manner profaned the Sacred Name of God. Whereby I have brought Reproach and Ruin upon myself my Character and my precious Soul, have greived the Heart of My Reverend Patron Who has been unwearied in his Labours of Love & Care and kindness for me and for the School, I have brought irreparable Reproach upon the School and the Important Cause Which I ought to have regarded more than even my own life, and have awfully disappointed & blasted all the hopes that have been conceived that I might in my Place have born my part in furthering the Same. I have Set a most Ill Example before the Schollars which if they follow they can expect nothing but that the Curses of God denounced against Such will take place upon them, and that with me they must bear their part in that eternal misery to which I Stand Justly condemd. but Most of all is the wound which I have to, and the Reproach I have bro^{t} upon the Name of God, and the Cause of the Dear Redeemer—this I have done against multiplied warning Councels, Instructions and all appointd means and Endeavours from Day to day used with me. I desire to humble myself before God and man for What I have done and implore divine pardon through the Blood of Christ. I also ask forgiveness of the Rev^{d} Doct^{r} Wheelock, and of all his family & School and of all who are knowing to my heinous offences—and I promise by divine Grace to walk morally and in all Respects circumspectly, for time to come—and it is my full purpose to leave off the use of all Spirituous Liquors for time to come—I confess it is Just if I am sent away with disgrace from this School as unworthy the Honour of being a Member of it, but if it may consist with the Glory of God & the Reputation of this School I earnestly & humbly desire I may yet be continued upon trial, and if my fruits Shall be becoming a penitant, that I may be restored and my Scandalous Crimes be conceald as much as may be from my Nation and from the World.

Mary Secuter

Attest
Ralph Wheelock
Beza[1] Woodward

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[1] This is not her own composition.

◆

Mary Secuter's Confession[1]

I May Secuter do with shamefacedness acknowledge that on the evening of the 8th Inst I was guilty of going to the tavern & tarrying there with much rude & vain company till a very unseasonable time of night where was dancing & other rude & unseemly conduct, & in particular drinking too much spirituous liquor whereby I was exposed to commit many gross sins, which offence is doubly aggravated in that it is a direct violation of a late promise I have publickly made before this school—all which wicked & sinful conduct of mine, I am fully sensable is much to the dishonour of God & very prejudicial to the design & reputation of this school, and in opposition to the good of my own soul & the souls of my mates—for which I deserve to be turned out of this school & be deprived of all the privileges of it—I desire to lie low in the dust therefor & do now ask forgiveness of God, the Revd Doctr Wheelock, his family and school, and all others whom I have hereby offended—and I desire now with my whole heart to renew my former engagement that I will never more drink any spirituous liquor on any occasion where necessity does not require it, and I do promise that (by the grace of god) I will amend my past life & never offend by any of the like or any other misconduct. for time to come—And desire once more to warn all my mates not to take occasion by this or any other instance of my misconduct, to commit the like or any other evil—and I beg the privilege of continuing still a member of this school & that I may enjoy the privileges of it, for a trial of the sincerity of this my confession & my engagements for an amendment of life

Mary Secutor

Lebanon March 11th 1768 *Present* D^{r} Wheelock
B. Woodward

[1] *In Eleazar Wheelock's handwriting.*

◆

Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock

Revd & ever Hond Sir

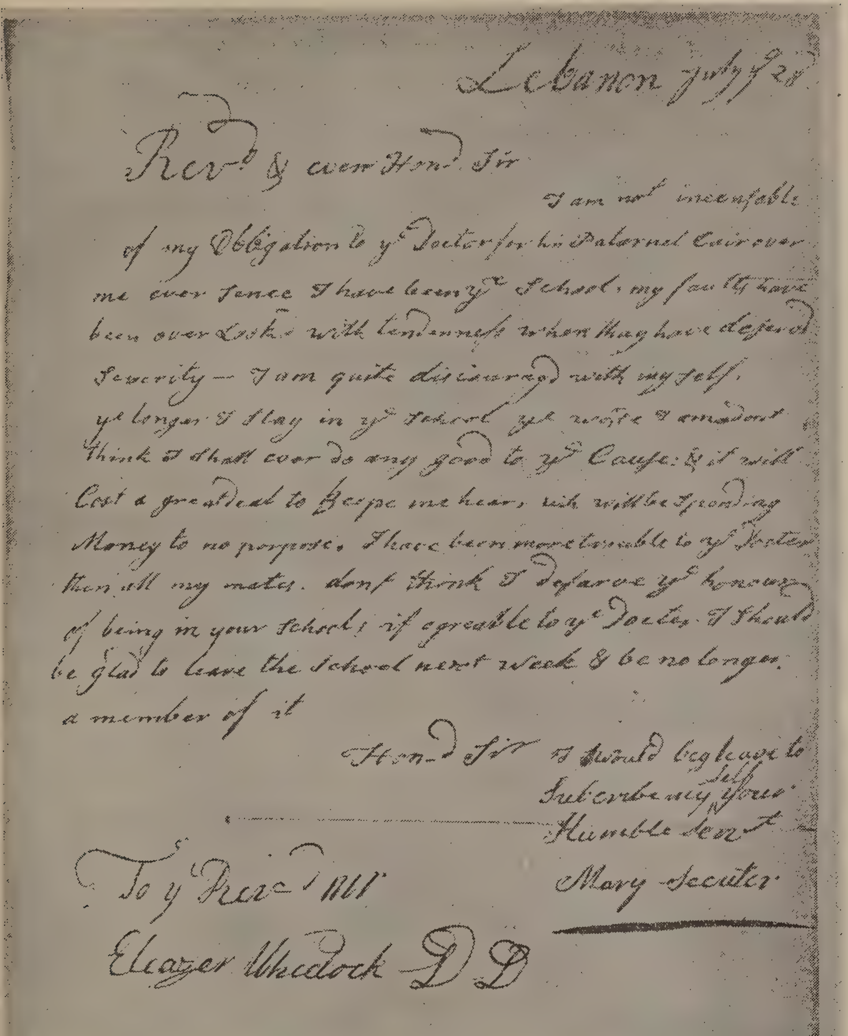
Lebanon, July Y^{e} 28

I am not insensable of my Obligation to ye Doctor for his Patarnel Cair over me ever Sense I have been ye School. my faults have been over Lookd with tenderness when they have deservd Severity—I am quite discouraged with mySelf. Ye longer I Stay in ye School ye worse I am—dont think I shall ever do any good to ye Cause: & it will Cost a great deal to keepe me hear, wh will be Spending Money to no porpose. I have been more trouble to ye Docter then all my mates. dont think I desarve ye honour of being in your School, if agreable to ye Docter I should be glad to leave the School next week & be no longer a member of it

Hon^{d}Sir I Would beg leave to Subscribe
mySelf your Humble Sevt

To ye Revd Mr
Eleazer Wheelock D D

Mary Secuter



Lebanon July 21st

Revd & ever Hond Sir

I am not insensible of my Obligation to ye Doctor for his Paternal Care over me ever since I have been ye School, my faults have been over Looked with tenderness when they have deserved Severity — I am quite discouraged with my self. ye longer I stay in ye School ye worse I am I dont think I shall ever do any good to ye Cause: & it will Cost a great deal to keep me hear, which will be spending Money to no purpose. I have been more troublesome to ye Doctor than all my mates. dont think I deserve ye honour of being in your School; if agreable to ye Doctor I should be glad to leave the School next week & be no longer a member of it

Hond Sir I would beg leave to
Subscribe my self your
Humble Servt
Mary Secuter

To ye Revd Mr
Eleazer Wheelock DD

MARY SECUTER TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK. Reduced from original in possession of Dartmouth College. For text see page 238.

Miriam Storrs[1] to Eleazar Wheelock

New York Novbr 24 1768

REVD & HONRD SIR

Sir I arrived here 19 of this month and I am to go this week from here but I keep good courage hopeing to be where I shou'd be. I have been Sick Some of the time but nothing to what I deserve I was well treated I have work Enough people would have be tarry with them but I have got long so far but the Doctr will need the Greeke to read my writing. if I had common Sence I should form this writing better Sir I have heard but one prayer Since I went from norwich. Since I went from thy house instead of prayers filthy talk &c

I found no rest till I put my whole trust in god who was my best presever then was I lifted up above any temtation I have been under many trials but god was my Deliverer heavy temtations, prest down to the dust which caused me soo to weep nights and hours when I Saw every one out of my Sight Dear Sir I want See the Doct again. I lay many a night and for fear of one mans bad intention in his heart as I thought and he told me after he went to Shore that was his end and aim but he found he was mistaken he owned but I did keep clear of him which I have reason to praise my redeemer for all my days and hope to go to him in Due time. May God of infinite grace grant me it for his Sake. No more from your

unworthy Subject

MIRIAM STORRS

PS to Remember to all the Family I am in health and to the School.

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[1] *A Delaware, entered Sept. 1761, and remained at the school for three years. Nothing more is known of her.*

Susanna's Recommendation

These may certifie that Susanna a Mohawk Girl the bearer hereof has for some Time been a member of my Indian Charity School and has from her first coming behaved herself well and has obtained a universal character among us for a young woman of virtue and has thereby conciliated the esteem and respect of all who have been acquainted with her & being now on a visit to her friends in the Mohawk country I hereby recommend her to the civilities charities & kindnesses of all who may have opportunity to express & she occasion to receive the same—*Given under my hand in Lebanon this 29th July A.D 1768* ——

To all People whom it may concern

◆

Recommendation of Deacon Thomas and His Brother-in-law

These Certify that Deacon Thomas the Bearer is of the Onoida Tribe and Sustains a good Character as a man of Religion & integrity he has been down with his Brother in Law on a visit to their Children at my School Where his Brother has been calld to the mournful Occasion of Burying his little Son last Week. they are now on their Return to Onoida and I do hereby Recommend them to the Civilities Charities & Kindnesses of all Who shall have opportunity to Shew or they to receive the Same.
Given under my Hand in Lebanon this 1st day of August 1768

Eleazar Wheelock *Founder*
& Director of Sd School.

Deacon Thomas to Eleazar Wheelock

Kanonwarohare Oct 1st 1771

My dear Father whom I love in the Lord.

I am glad to hear from you that you still remember me, & that your regard for me yet continues, I remember all the Conversations I had with you, & have laid it up in my Heart. I feal sometimes affected Father, that I should be in some measure instrumental of our Childrens leaving your School, having been obliged to bring my daughter from thence; the melancholy reason of which you are well acquainted with. My example was followed by Others, who fecht away theirs, tho they had not the same reason for so doing that I had.[1] I sometimes fear that I greav'd my Father,s heart, seing I was upon the spot when all the Children left him, & when I think of the Coming of our Lord, even the thoughts of having been blameable in that affair give my mind great uneasyness, tho I make it the matter of my daily peititions to God, to shew me what I ought to do. My Father Wheelock. I long to satisfy your Mind if in any respect I have disobliged you. You proposed to me to learn your Language, so as to be able to read the Bible, & thus to know the whole will of God as reveal,d in the holy Scriptures; but as I now dispare of attaining to that myself, I am determined to send my Son (whom God has graciously given me, & whom I have dedicated & given up to God) to your School, there to be taught the Way of Life, & to acquire all those Endowments, which I now regret the want of: this Father is my unalterable purpose, if God should pitty me, and spare his life 'till he is old enough to send.

Now Father. I beg your prayers to God for me, that I may always be religeous, & humble minded, & may persevere in the way of Godlyness unto the End of my life. When I think of you, I thank God for your affection for us, and oh! that God would fill your Heart with his holy Spirit, to animate, and encourage you in your attempts to spread the glorious news of God,s grace among the Indians. I am glad to hear that you have not yet given us over, but are still praying for us that we might be saved, I hope you will always retain the same disposition towards us. I send you my sincer Love, & hope these will find you in a comfortable State of Health. My love also to your Consort, and to all your children in Christ who know me, in particular to Mr McClure, am rejoic,d at Heart to hear that he is entered as A Labourer into Gods Vineyard.

These from your unworthy
Servant, THOMAS

To Doc^{tr} WHEELOCK

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[1] *Wheelock wrote George Whitefield, April 24, 1769: "In y^{e} heighth of y^{e} religious concern here (Lebanon) Jan^{ry} 20th y^{e} Onoidas sent for Six of their Children, wth plausable excuses for y^{e} same; & a professed purpose y^{t} y^{a} should return in y^{e} Spring—it was all Mystery to me—at such a Season of y^{e} Year—y^{e} most of y^{e} Children small—such a Journey—Snow deep—y^{a} on foot—Mr Kirtland y^{a} said approving—y^{e} Children all under convictions—& some under strong convictions—surely tho't I, y^{s} is after y^{e} working of Satan. Soon after y^{e} Children were gone there was a Buzzing, & Whispering about of something yet conceald, threatn$_{g}$ y^{e} distruction of my School, but noth^{g} intelligible. at length it began to perspire, from y^{e} Seperates, & those in connection with them, at Windham, wth whom M^{r} Kirtland had been intimate, y^{t} my school was coming down————." The school did not come down, but Wheelock never recovered the interest of the Six Nations.*

◆

David Towsey to Eleazar Wheelock

Sunderland
December the 17th y^{e} 1771

SIR Docter whellock unacquainted friend Sir my Greatest Due Regards to the Docter for the Benefit and great entention of mercy of God that as so orderd & pleased to make you Become his servant and Benefit and light to the world even as in lightening the Darkbenighted thoughts of the nations of blindness for blessed be God for his wounderful mercy to the world that his pure eyes Casteth from the sinfulness of the Corruptableness and thoughts and works of sinful Children of this Corruptable world so sir I hope in mercy of god as he so orders priveliges in thy attendance & Care sir I hope you will not a void my Requists That is I am entending to send two of my sons to you and I hope you will not Denie them thy care though thay are But young one is three years of age & the other is seven and sir if you should take this opportunity to send a words by Capt Root or a letter of information what I may Depend on about Coming I shall be very glad in Deed to come thoue I have But little money and Children Being Small But I will strive to Come Immediately

Sir this from yor and homl sevt

David Towsey *late of Stockbridge*

To Doctor Whellock

Sir here I Gave you a little information that I myself am Going Nixt summer to see my Relations at westward parts of the world above Near one thousands of miles on Near passage to the west Sea so if I leaving my Children with the Docter I hope his honour will take a special attendance on them as thay may Become the service of youenitting the pease of God and for the God mankind & Beckwirt nations which I hope in time it may be as the Divine providance may order things so to be that my sons may Become the profits of *governing* (?) the bothe nations for their Good Sonomore if the saim this fr^{m} y^{or} David towsey

Eleazar Wheelock to David Towsey

FRIEND TOWSEY *Dartm. College Jan* 12 1772

SIR,

I rec^{d} yours of 7 Dec^{r} by Lieut. Billings & Capt. Root. But had no time to answer it by them & therefore now take this opportunity to do it.

You desire me to take your two sons One of seven, the other of three years old. And I now inform you that I am willing to take them both, provided that of three years old be not too young—I am afraid he will be expos'd to suffer, as I have so many that it is difficult to take so particular care of Individuals, as it is likely one of his age will require. My scholars are all dispos'd to be quite kind to Indian Boys, and there is no danger of their hurting or abusing him upon design. But among so many it will be necessary sometimes that he should take care of & shirk for himself, or he will be in danger of being forgotten & so neglected—however I will take the oldest immediately, if you will bring him & perhaps the other next spring or summer when you go your long journey if you can't do better with him. You say you want money & cloaths for your son to come up hither in. I am out of money at present, but you may borrow enough for that purpose of Lieut. Billings. it will cost but little; & also a Blankett or any garment to come hither in, & when he comes I will take care to cloathe him. I have two Stockbridge Indians now with me so that there will be no danger that your Son will loose his language.

I hope you will have prosperity in your long journey near the western ocean & that you will bring me two or three likely boys from thence.

My heart's desire is if possible to spread the great redeemer's name thro' this whole land, that all the poor benighted nations may all become partakers of the great Salvation. I give my love to you & am your real friend & well wisher

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

David Towsey to Eleazar Wheelock

February the 29th *yer* 1772

Sir Mr Whellock I have Received your Letter By Liut Billings which informs me that you are willing to take my sons Both for the Spring so I have Concluded not to Bring one till I Bring them Booth in the Spring[1] so I hope the Doctr will see sum method to help me up with them for Liut Billings Refusies to Gave me any thing Because I did not then immediately then set out, sir very Cause of it was Because It was Could But I should now be very glad if their Can be now any help sent so I Remain yours at present this from your welwisher faithful friend

David Towsey

of Stockbridg and now Residing in Sunderland

Sir I hope this Letter may be Read By sum of your people tho it is wrot in short time.

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[1] *Benjamin Towsey, the older of the two boys, certainly entered the school, because he was reported as having had himself inoculated against smallpox, much to Wheelock's vexation. His brother David may have entered the school, but I have found no record of him.*

◆

Recommendation of Basteen and Lewis Vincent

Dartmouth College in the
Province of New Hampshire
Feby 27th 1773.

These certify all whom it may Concern that the Bearers Basteen Sawvanhass and Lewis Sawwantawnan Indians of the Tribe at Lorett near Quebec are & have been for Some months members of the Indian Charity School under my care and have behaved themselves quite orderly and well and are reputed esteemed &

respected so far as I know, by all the Members of this College and School as young men of a Manly generous Spirit, and appear to have a great thirst for Knowledge and have been very diligent and made good Proficiency hitherto in their Studies.

and they being now on a Visit to Sir William Johnson I do hereby recommend them to the Charity Kindness and Respect of all as they shall have Occasion in their Journeying on this visit and Shall esteem any Favo^{r} Shewn them as though it had been done to myself.

Certified by

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK *Presd^{t} of Dartmouth*

College in New Hampshire
Feb^{y} 27th 1773

◆

Recommendation of William & Hannah

These certify that the Bearer William an Onoida Indian has been with me in order to accompany his Sister, who has been several Months in this School, back to her Friends—has behaved well since he came to me, as has also his Sister since she has been in this School, & being no on their Journey home & William wholly Ignorant of the english language & Hannah his Sister, but little acquainted with it, I do therefore recommend them to the Civilities Charities & Kindnesses of all people, as they shall see occasion & have opportunity to express & Shew the same on yr way.

Certified by

E. WHEELOCK

Dated at Lebanon
Ye 23 of Novr 1768

William Oneida's Parents to Eleazar Wheelock

Onida 28 *Decem: AD* 1767

TO THE GREAT MINISTER THAT TAKES Yᵉ CARE OF INDIANS.
FATHER.

We the Parents of William give our Service to you. We thank God we are alive. We hope you are yet alive & yᵗ all things are well with you.

Fathʳ, we are we are very thankful for yᵉ Care you have taken of our Son. yes Father we thank you heartily. we are exceedingly pleas'd wʰ yᵉ Instructions you have given our Son. he was always dear to us—& appeared a good child—but now much better. you have made his mind more straight & upright, we are greatly rejoicd to see it. Father, we desire you would go on to take yᵉ care & instruction of our Son for which we shall be ever thankful, & we thank God too.—we think perhaps in two years more he may be fit to return. we hope you will keep him closely to his books now, yt he may make ye greatest speed. If he shouˡᵈ be sick & like to die, you will please to send us word. This is all we have to say. & once more give our hearty service to you. farewel Father The greater king Minister.

SUH NAUGEAROT

P.S. Peter, yᵗ went down wʰ David, is of my Blood, & belongs to me, he is something of a bad child, rough temper & not wise. I desire Fathʳ, you exert yourself in administring means for forming his Temper & mind straight & making him wise,—& if you find you cant master it—& are quite discouraged, send me word, & I will let you know mind.

SUHNAUGEAROT

*N.B.*interpreted & wrote by, yours &c

S. K—D *(Samuel Kirkland)*

Jacob Woolley, DELAWARE

JACOB WOOLLEY *was sent by John Brainerd from New Jersey. He entered Dec. 18, 1754, with John Pumshire, who died in 1757. With this pair the school proper begins. In 1759 Woolley entered the College of New Jersey (Princeton), and, although reported as poor in his studies, advanced to the senior class. A desire to wander, the attractions of some Princeton girl, strong drink, and inattention to studies brought about his separation. In 1764 he was reported as a ragged ne'er-do-well, collecting scraps of firewood. He enlisted probably in 1765. Nothing is known of his later career.*

Jacob Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Nassau Hall Decem.^{br} 14th 1761.

REV.^{d} & HONOU.^{d} SR.

I am very glad of embracing every Oppertunity of Writing to you, & Conversing with you, though in a silent Language.—But I had much rather converse with you Face to Face. Dear Sr. you can't imagine how much I want to see you, & your Family. Though I expect to come & visit you next Fall, if I have my Life & Health spared.—I am very hearty att present, through divine Goodness, except of having littile Cold. I like College as well as ever, only I think it is too much Confinement: because I want to travel some where or other & get acquainted with Mankind. For I don't see, as I am likely ever to learn anything else, but the Languages & Sciences. Sr. I must conclude with this Desire of giving my Duty to Madam Wheelock & kind Love to your Children & the same to the rest of your Family. And except the same from

Your ever Dutiful & Obliged
Servant,

JACOB WOOLLEY.

P.S. Please to excuse this broken Letter.

TO THE REVD. MR. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK *in Connecticut N. England.*

Jeremiah Halsey[1] *to Eleazar Wheelock*

Nassau Hall Sept. 30th 1762

My Dr. Sir

By your Son[2] I just seize a few Moments to Salute you by these Lines. Your Son has still conducted to Satisfaction and I doubt not will do so. We find ourselves obliged to send Jacob Woolley back to You again. He has loitered away so much Time this Year, that had he been examined for his standing this Fall, we should have been obliged to have degraded him. Out of Tenderness to you, and to him, we have spared him that Disgrace. I am still in great Hopes that by prudent Measures he may be reformed. And it is a great Pity that so much Labour and Expence should be laid out on him in vain. He seems to have lost in a great Degree all Sense of Honour as to his Behaviour here, as he is fully sensible that he is now looked upon by the greatest Part of the Students in a disreputable Light. But I have Authority to inform you, Sir that whenever he reforms and prosecutes his Studies in such a Manner as to deserve your Recommendation, he may on his Submitting to an Examination, be admitted to the Honours of College. I suppose however that it will not be possible for him by the greatest Diligence so to retreive past Neglect as to deserve a Degree in the Compass of one Year, in two he may without Difficulty. In the mean Time he is very capable of assisting in the Instruction of the inferior Classes in your School. I beleive we shall be able to procure Money from the Scotch Society[3] Sufficient for the Support of our Indian here at College. All the hopes we have of ever repaying the money advanced for Woolley's Support is from them. We have had but Six Pounds as yet from the Correspondents, they having no Money in their Hands, but what Mr. Brainard, as Indian Missionary, has a Right to. If you have any Indian at your School, who is fit for the Freshman class, you may venture to send him. Let him be a Person whose Piety is very promising. Whose genius is good, who has a manly Turn in his Behaivour, who has a keen Sense of Honour. Such a one I beleive will answer. Woolley was evidently defective in several of these articles. If Catling can come, I would have him by all Means come this Fall; it would be of great importance to settle whatever Indian youth You send with a good Chamber-mate. Such a one as Catling would answer. and the better as he is acquainted with the Lads at your School, and I suppose would not be unwilling to live with any One you think proper to send.

College affairs are prosperous.

I am D.^{r} Sir
yours in the greatest Hurry,

JEREMIAH HALSEY

P.S. Keep Mr Leslie if you can; never mind his Whimpirs; tell him, I have known many a Maggot get into his Brain, and get out again.

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[1] *Tutor at the College of New Jersey, 1757-67 (Alexander, 17).*

[2] *Ralph, Wheelock's oldest son, and by his first marriage. Born Aug. 18, 1742. His career was ruined by epilepsy. In 1761 Wheelock wrote President Finley that Ralph had been unable to read even a chapter in the Bible for three years. He entered the College of New Jersey, 1761, and left, by advice of his tutor, 1763. He transferred to Yale, was graduated, 1765, and taught for two years at Moor's Charity School. In 1768 he visited the Onondagas, whom he alienated by his blustering. They sent him back to his father and advised him to learn tact from the Jesuits. In the same year, not knowing the result of this visit, Wheelock named him as his successor. It was not until 1772 that Wheelock learned, through David Avery, of Ralph's fiasco. There is nothing further to record of Ralph except that he died in Hanover, Feb. 7, 1817.*

[3] THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. *The Correspondents referred to a few lines later were a Board in New Jersey representing the* SOCIETY.

Jacob Woolley's Confession[1]

I Jacob Wooley acknowledge I have been scandalously guilty of several gross Breaches of the Law of God. Particularly, I have been scandalously guilty of drinking strong Drink to Excess; And of being in a very sinful Passion of Anger, which I shewed by a very boisterous Behaviour, doubling & swinging my Fists, stamping with my Feet, and many violent Motions & Gestures of Body, attempting to throw the Bed and Bed Cloathes out of the Chamber Window; And also by very vile & prophane Language, daring God Almighty to damn me if I were guilty according to what had been reported of me (when at the same Time the Report was true) and frequently challenging of God to it, saying I did not care if I was damned, threatning Vengeance upon the Boy who had reported what he had of me, saying I would be revenged if I were damned for it. And thus I persisted in Imprecations of Damnation upon my self, and blasphemous Treatment of the Sacred Name, against the much repeated and most forcible and kind & urgent Entreaties of M.^{r} Wheelock and M.^{r} Lessly, in Opposition to whose Entreaties to spare and desist from my irreverent and abusive Use and Treatment of the Sacred Name, I increased in it with the more Fury & Violence; And also in attempting to go away with [out] Leave or Advice from M.^{r} Wheelock, under whose Conduct Providence has placed me, and pursuing that Design in a very tumultuous Manner, which was aggravated by this Circumstance, that it was on Saturday Evening, Time observed as Holy by Mr.^{r} Wheelock and Family, who were kept in a Ruffle till late in the Night; And also by many undutiful, proud, and ungrateful Expressions toward M.^{r} Wheelock.

And all this has been greatly aggravated by the peculiar Obligations I am under to God & Man, by whose Goodness & their Charity I have been so distinguished from all my Nation

Hereby I have much dishonoured God, wounded the Hearts of my kindest Friend and Benefactors, brought great Dishonour upon the Christian Name, and done much to discourage & cool that Christian Charity, which has so remarkably appeared of late towards my perishing Savage Brethren, and particularly much to discourage & hurt the Interests & Progress of this School, in which I have received so great Favours, and which I am under so great Obligations by all possible Means to encourage & promote.

I desire to be humbled in the Dust for these Things before God and Man, and to implore the divine Pardon & Forgiveness through the Blood of Christ. I ask Forgiveness of M.r Wheelock, M.r Lessly, and of the whole Family and School, and of all my kind Benefactors who shall hear of it. And desire they will pray to God for me that Iniquity after all Endeavours used with me may not prove my Ruin—and I do solemnly warn all the Members of this School against Pride of Heart & a sensual Course of Living, and that they take Warning by my Fall. not to imitate my Example.

JACOB WOOLLEY

Lebanon July 25th 1763.
Signed in Presence of us
SAMUEL GRAY
DAVID FOWLER
JOSEPH WOOLEY

[1] *Dictated by Eleazar Wheelock, probably.*

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Eleazar Wheelock to Samuel Finley[1]

Lebanon 7th Septr 1763.

REVd & VERY DEAR SIR.

Yours by Mr Lathrop is very wellcome. I thank you heartily. but I am now So crowded for Time that I can but little more than Hint at what I would write. Jacob has behaved well, Since he came here excepting one Mistake[2] which was private, and for which he has made Such Satisfaction, as I think aught to be accepted and the Fault forgotten, and not mentioned. He has read Haines Medulla through, and reseited the most of it to me and Seems to understand it as well as can be expected, he has also gone thro' Salmon's Geog^{y} Wall's Logick, Martain's Gram'r & has since been reading Divinity &c. and I beleive must pass for a pritty Good Scholar in the whole tho' deficient in Some parts of Learning. be sure he is far better than many who receive the Hon^{rs} of our Colleges in New England but you well know y^{t} his Disadvantages ha.' not been few. His mind was perplexed, & intangled with a young feemale, which I perceive you were Something knowing to when he first Came. but Seems at present to be in Some good measure released from it. on which acco^{t} as well as on acco^{t} of the great Expence of the Journey I have thought it will be best and So have all the gentlemen I have Consulted, y^{t} he should not come for his Degree. but that if you See fit it Should be sent to him. And I cant but hope y^{t} you and y^{e} Corporation think it will be best to give him his degree and place in y^{e} Class & that it will be no dishonour to your College on acco^{t} of his Scholarship, and I hope it never will on acco^{t} of his Morals. his greatest Temptations when he came to me were I apprehend such as arose from, and had their cheif Strength from discouragements, and if he Should be denied his Degree they will likely return, and he will be apt to Say there is no hope of retrieving his character, which at present he seems to be inspired with Some laudible Ambition, to regain & maintain. He appears much more humble minded, Serious, tho'tful and cheirful in his duty than when he first came and my hopes are much revived that God will yet make him an Instrument of much Glory to his great Name. And further If he Should be denied y^{e} Hon^{r} of y^{r} Coll I fear it will be of very Hurtful Consequence to the great Design, and do much to discourage the Hearts of many far & near who have been acquainted with the Hopes & Expectations we had conceived concerning him. and it may be some Disadvantage as to his present improvement, as I design to make him an Usher in this School the Ensuing Winter, provided the present Rupture dont prevent Such an addition to my Number as will make it needful to have two Masters. And his not having his Degree may be a Means to delay his Entring upon Business among the Indians as I hope he may if Mr Smith &c Shall be allowed by Providence to pursue their Designed Missions.

And, as I find, the Society in Scotland have granted a Support for Jacob, I hope the Hon^l Comss^rs will think it reaonable to allow my acco^t for him the last year, and the rather because the Present Rupture will likely much lessen and Discourage Such Supplies as I might otherwise hope for.

please Sir to advise me with all the Honesty openess and Freedom w^c Friendship insures respecting my poor Son. You have by this Time no Doubt got a pritty thorough acquaintance with his Case, his natural Sprightliness and Resolution and the Weekness & Tenderness of his Nerves (which dont very hapily associate in his Constitution) and how poorly he can bear any thing that is grevious to him.

please to commend my best Regards to the gentlemen of the Corporation and accept them yourself from, my Hon^d & dear Sir.

Your Brother & Humble Serv.^t

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

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[1] *President of the College of New Jersey (1761-66).*
[2] *See previous letter.*

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Samuel Finley to Eleazar Wheelock

Nassau Hall Princeton. Sep^r 30^th 1763.

MY DEAR & REV^d BR,

It is with no small Mortification, yt I have to tell you, I received your kind & important Letters too late to answer your Desires. They were delivered into my Hand, I think Sometime on

Commencement Day, in the midst of Company, of Business & Hurry, when I had not So much as half of a minute to look into them, & examine a Single Line of their Contents—I was forced, whatever they were, to lay them on my Desk & postpone ye reading of them untill I cou'd get Time. And indeed, if I remember right they were given me just as y^e afternoon Procession was beginning, when it wou'd have been too late to propose anything. I put no Doubt but I cou'd have procured Wooley his Degree, upon your Recommendation, as y^e Board has been pleased to grant my Desires in Several Such Instances. But now this must be dropped for y^e present, & I desist.

I have been very anxious about Supplying your School, & have fixed & unfixed again: I cannot Spare S^r Thompson, else I wou'd gladly have done it. and all I can Say in Fav^r of my Choice is, y^t he shall be the best I can procure. S^r Davies is a consciencious Young Man, & if he engage in y^e matter I doubt not but he will do his best faithfully: But he Seems disinclined to y^e Task at present. The next I have in view is S^r Close, who has been under a good deal of Serious Concern, but I know not what Issue. He is of good Parts & not a mean Scholar. S^r Lathrop has not Spoken to me about making any Enquiry for him as to any place. He is not inferior to y^e others in Point of Scholarship, is of good Behaviour, & Solid & I know not what farther. I have Still been enclined to think yt Sr Davies, all things considered, wou'd be to your Purpose. but I know myself to be fallible, & will not be positive as to y^e Event.

As to your Account, I laid it before two or 3 of y^e Commissioners for Indian affairs, that happened to be present, & they being also Trustees of y^e College, told me they had not receivd a Shilling of all Wooley's Expences here;—nor have a farthing in their Hands on y^e account of Indians from y^e Society in Scotland, tho' they had expected it. There is y^e interest of £200 Sterlg. but it is at y^e Disposal of y^e Synod, who have appropriated it, for Several Years, towards M^r^ Brainard's Support. And upon y^e^ whole they can at present do nothing: This grieves me again. what I can I will do to remedy this Evil, & that is, to get this Case represented to y^e^ Society at Home, & in some time I hope to have you indemnified.

As to your dear Son, your requiring me by y^e^ Sacred Bonds of Friendship to Speak freely concerning him, is an argument I cannot resist. I have been indeed tho'tful about him & have been under Such Apprehensions of y^e^ bad Consequences of his Indisposition, as I durst not more than tenderly hint to him, lest it shou'd discourage & oppress him. I have not had much opportunity to examine him often myself; but y^e^ Tutors of whom I enquired make me affraid, lest he Shou'd not make his Standing good in his Class; which wou'd be a great affliction to me. Your own Judicious Tenderness will dispose you to make Such use of this Hint as will least afflict him.

I wou'd have Said many things, but I have been ten times interrupted in these few lines; & made the Bearer wait above two Hours beyond his Time, & can only add, y^t^ I am, as much as you will

Yours &c

SAM^l^ FINLEY

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Jacob Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon Octo.^r^ 21. A. D. 1763.

HONOURED SR.

These are to inform you that I leave not your House in any Passion or Influence of Drink but I go away in cool Spirit; neither intending wholly to forsake your House only for a Time, how long

I cannot tell, but I beleive no longer than two Weeks. The Reason of my Going away is this, I owe M.^r Clark something for Liquor which I beleive you would not be willing to answer. I know not how to discharge the Debt any other Ways. I would not have you concerned about my Going off, for I know too well the sad Consequences your School wou'd suffer by it. But as to the other Difficulty attending me, I will promise (Divine Grace assisting me) that I will keep my self clear from Drink, so that you, nor your School, shall receive any Hurt from that Quarter. No more at present but I remain

Yours

JACOB WOOLLEY

To

THE REV.^d M.^r WHEELOCK.

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Joseph Fish to Eleazar Wheelock

Stonington 20^th *Jan*^yr 1764

REV^d DEAR BROTH^r

At Norwich, last week, I met, on the Road, your very acceptable Fav^r of Dec^r 16^th, which gave me a good deal of pleasure, as it assured Me, the Freedom & Simplicity, of my Last, met with a kind Reception; & more especially as it gave me abundant Satisfaction that the Severity of Discipline, administred to poor Jacob, was no more, nor any other, than his aggravated Crimes deservd; yea rendred expedient & even unavoidable. It was not with me to conceive that he had arisen to such a horrid pitch of widkedness. I did not in the least doubt of your Tenderness towards him; & it was Inadvertence in me, that I did not acknowledge it in Mine:

nor shoud I ha' frownd on your Measures, had I known, previous to my writing, that he had, by his Vile Conduct, laid y° under such a disagreeable Necessity. Yours to Jacob, Inclosed in that to me accompanyd by One from the Friendly & compassionate Mr *Whitaker,*[1] I should have delivered him at my last Monday Lecture: but Jacob was then gone to help fetch home a Sick Indⁿ woman so did not See him. This Week on Tuesday, I recᵈ another welcome letter from you, of Janʳʸ 6. Inclosing One to Jacob; and this Day went on purpose to Indⁿ Town, to deliver him the Three (than which, on reading, I cannot think how anything could be more proper and engaging.) I found Jacob at his Old Quarters (One Johnsons) engag'd in no Business; nor can I learn, e'en from his own Mouth that he pursues any; except getting a little Fire wood for yᵉ Family where he eats.

He walked out with me, (behaving with all Decency), & gave me Oppᵗʸ to offer what I pleased. I tryd every method that Occured to my mind, to induce him to free & open hearted: but to little purpose. He rather seemed to decline making me any Answʳ though his Silence appeared not to be the effect of Obstinacy & Contempt, but rather of Confusion or not knowing what to Say. However he made a Simple Reply of yes or no, to all or most of my Questions.

Perceiving him thus reluctant to Conversation, thought I'd try him, a little, upon the *Subject you hinted in Last.* And, having pointed his thoughts towards the Jerseys I askd him what it was that brought him into this unhappy way of living? I think he made me no explicit answer. I then let him know that I was somewhat acqted with his *Amour* &c desird him, again, to be free, & let me know if *that affair* had any influence toʷᵈ his present Conduct; or had any hand in bringing of him into this Melancholly Situation? Told me, *That* was the Beginning of it. After I'd let him know how pernicious (?) such Intrigues were to College Exercises, (to justify his Friends in trying to break yᵐ up,) I asked me if he could think of no Remedy now? Told me no, & Spoke as if he thought the matter was finally determined. Again I askd him, whether he would be willing to return to College, provided he might be restor'd to Favour *there,* and allowed to Revive his Acquaintance with that alluring Object? He readily replyd in y^{e} negative. I once more askd him, if he thought it w^{d} afford him any Relief or Satisfaction, could he accidently (as twere,) meet & Converse with her in *these Parts?* To which he seemed pretty freely to answer "He thought it would". Though I hinted no further, than the last Quest^{n} may possibly imply, y^{t} there was the least thought or any Prospect of any such thing. This is the substance of our Conversation; or Hints of the Subjects. Perhaps I managed the affair *imprudently,* which I Submit to your Correction, having only to Say, y^{t} I honestly intended *his* good, & to befriend y^{e} cause.

After inviting of him, afresh to my house, Deliverd him the Letters—Droppd a few Relig^{s} & tender Sentiments (at which he wept) and parted. As soon as I have any thing new, relating to his Case, shall speedily communicate to y^{e} Same.

I cannot tell any further than heretofore, what a Character he maintains among y^{e} Indians—his Clothing is much on the decline, and doing nothing to earn more, (as I told him) he will Soon be naked; with w^{h} if Hunger joins its Force, he may possibly think of his Fathers house. with y^{e} most hearty affection to you & yours

I am D^{r} Sir
y^{r} Brothr &c

JOSEPH FISH

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[1] *Nathaniel Whitaker (1732-95), Princeton, 1752. He was pastor successively at Woodbridge, N. J., Norwich, Conn., Salem, Mass., Canaan (now Skowhegan), Me., and Taunton, Mass. On Dec. 23, 1765, he sailed with Samson Occom to England, and with him raised in England and Scotland some twelve thousand pounds for Moor's Charity School. He was an energetic friend to Wheelock, an outspoken patriot, strongly individualistic, and frequently indiscreet (Chase, 60,* WHEELOCK LETTERS).

Joseph Woolley, DELAWARE

JOSEPH WOOLLEY *was a promising and rather delightful young Indian. He was a Delaware, a cousin of Jacob Woolley, entered the school April 9, 1757, having been sent by Brainerd, and in 1761 was reported as reading Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament "very handsomely." In 1764 he accompanied Kirkland to the Six Nations. In 1765 he had twenty or more scholars at Onohoquaga, but his career was cut short by consumption, of which he died Nov. 29 (or 27?), 1766.*

Joseph Woolley

Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon Nov. 2 A.D. 1761

Rev.ᵈ & Hon.ᵈ Sir

I now with Pleasure set down to congratulate myself, and shall imploy myself in writing these Following Lines. and I would inform you in the first Place that I am in good state of health, nor I never felt so hearty sence I came to Live with M.ʳ Wheelock hoping you are the same, I dont mean sence you came to Live with M.ʳ Wheelock. And also I would beg Leave of you to Let me go and Visit my Friend at Mohegan and from thence to Lime that is About Six miles beyond New London, Now as soon As Possible before the vacancey is up, it may be by that means my mind may (will) be Loosend from home. for they Expect to see me there some Time this Fall and they desired me to come. I told 'em, I should come if I could get Leave, and Nothing would Happen more then Common. but I must conclude. Thus have I said.

Yours in reality
Joseph Woolley.

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Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Lebanon April yᵉ 9. *A.D.* 1763.

Rev.ᵈ & Worthy S.ʳ

I seem to have an aversion in writing to you, yet I cant refrain from telling you, how Strong & potent, the Temptations were to me this afternoon.

The Carnal effections, rising in my Heart were so strong, they almost overcome me, had it not been the Divine Assistance.—It was not me alone that overcame them but it was by the gracious Influence of the Holy Spirit. I thought if I should yeald once, they wou'd always get the better of me.—I seem to know how narrow the Way to Heaven was, that I coud not enter into Heaven, with the Least Blemish in my Heart, for one Sin is enough to curse me in Hell Fire to all Eternity. And how great must it be with me, who have Sinned under the Light of the Gospel, if I am found Christless.—Oh! had I the real Sence of it, as I have a reason to fear I hant, I coud not Linger along as I do—Dear Sir, I beg & plead, that you woud Daily in your Private Prayers make mention of me, & I wish all Christians woud, that I might fail of the Grace of Life, & be overcomed by the potent Adversary, which I am engaged against.

I have been affraid I shall brake the Covenant, which I am about to make Publikely in the Church.

I wish Sir, you woud point out to me, in writing, I think I can understand you so better, how I shall prepare my Heart, in order to receive the Lords Supper.

I am affraid I shall go unworthy, & Disfigure my Face as the Pharesees do, only for an outside Show, & thereby, Eat, & Drink, Judgment to myself.—And to Conclude wishing for your Prayer that I may be weaned from this World, & Sot upon the things that are above.

I am Sir. Your very unworthy Sert.

JOSEPH WOOLLEY

◆

Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Johnson-Hall[1] *July* 6th (1765

REV.^{d} S.^{r}

We have waited for the Messurs Smith & Chamberlain,[2] four Days, and I dont think it is best for me to wait any longer. then next Monday. I think Providence calls me to go away from here soon.

The epidemical Smallpox Distemper is here & proves very mortal among the Indians—The Squash Cutter[3] died with it about ten Days ago; another died last evening & was buried this afternoon here. This poor Man was left destitute by all his Friend, & Relations, had nobody to tend him, "I felt so concerned for him "I like to gone there myself."

I was sorry & greaved to see in the Indians so much Brutallity, that they caired no more for each other than the Beasts do " (Tho "I believe if a Horse knew there was something of a Matter with his Mate, he would come and leap over him) but there appeared "no such Affection among them," however, some of them made out to go and assist in burying him.

The Shawanees & Dellawars came here the Day before yesterday in order to confirm the Covenant Chain, which Captain KillBuck[4] Chief of the Dellawares has been upon ever since last Spring—to whom, I had the Honour of Interpreting those Letters & the Parchment in which the Covenant was written; & to his greatest Satisfaction.

This Man Kill-Buck would feign have me go to Allegany with him to his own Home, & to spend my Life amongst them There—But I have Discourigements from those that have been there.

"As we were passing thro Sheffield, one Man call'd out to me, "and ask'd me whether I was not the same Man that lay sick there "Fall and enqured into my Name—But I told him not who I was "& what I was, that I might have the better Chance to know what "he had to say about him—well, he bigan to tell what he did after "he got well with the Plurise—that he taught young Men & Chil- "ren to Sing read and write & cypher: That he had his Learning "from Mr Wheelock, and went to the Jersey College and in his "Last Year went back again to Mr Wheelocks, and afterward ran "away from him & went into the Service.[5] Moreover, he told me "what that young Man said—The reason why he ran away, that he "was affraid Mr Wheelock would make him Preach: therefore now "he determines never to see you. But I could get no Intelligence "which Way he went, whether that he is alive or no. he told it to "me in such a light I could not help but thinking it was Cousin "Jacob Wooley."

"I have not heard about the Dutch Horse I am affraid he is "lost, and if so it is a great Loss.

I have been out of Health ever since I arrived here, a Sharp Pain in my Breast and so thro on the other Side, continues bad.

"I have heard of Fowler toDay that he is yet alive and well, "begins to beat his Schollers very much, makes their Hands to "Swell very much which the Indians dont like very well; They "say, he ought to have suppresed it longer, & not begin so soon—" I have no more Special to say, you know I was never a good News Monger.

Pray Sr to accept my Humble Duty to you & Mrs Wheelock, and tell her I hope her unwearied Pains for me wont be quite Lost, but that I shall improve the best of my Ability to my People & also Duty to Kind Master Lathrop—

I remain

Your Dutiful
& very Humble Ser^{vt}

JOSEPH WOOLEY

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[1] *The seat of Sir William Johnson, Johnstown, N. Y.*

[2] *Wheelock had sent Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain (June 19, 1765) to establish schools among the Mohawks and Oneidas.*

[3] *Marginal note (in Wheelock's hand?)—"or Head Warrior of the Delawares who has done so much mischief & exercised so much Inhumanity to the English."*

[4] *Marginal note (in Wheelock's hand?)—"This man with the Squash Cutter were then as Hostages from that Tribe." He was a prominent Delaware chief, sometimes called Bemineo (Beauchamp, 32).*

[5] *Marginal note (in Wheelock's hand?)—"i.e. of the War."*

Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

REV^d^ *&* HON^d^ SIR, *Johnson Hall July*

The Language of my heart is to contribute the little Mite I have to the living & true God & be in his Service—My Soul seems to be more & more upon the perishing Pagans in these Woods.—I long for the Conversion of their Souls, & that they may come to the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus & be saved—But O what Reason have I to be ashamed before God, & confess my corrupt Nature & Lukewarmness in the Things of Religion, that I live no nearer to him. It is worth to go mourning all my Days—O it is beyond me to express the Things I mean—My Heart feels sorry for the poor Indians—that they know no more about our crucified Saviour & I wish I was made able to teach & instruct them, & I shall do whatever lies in my power to tell them of Christ as long as I tarry —I feel ashamed that I have done no more towards it—My Prospects incline me to tarry till next Spring—If I do, I shall want more assistance—However I can tell you more of this by the next Letter.—I have talk'd with his Honour Sir William about these Things.—He approves all—says, it wou'd be the best Thing, in the World & intends to encourage the Indians to read English and Indian Youth among the remote tribes to learn their language—

Mess^rs^ Smith & Chamberlayn are not yet come, & I am going to Onohokwage this Day.—Sir William advises me not to tarry any longer by reason of the smallpox that it is dangerous. All the Boys are going to Kanajohare—to tarry there, till M^r^ Chamberlain comes, except Heezeakiah Calvin & another who will go to Oneida —I can't tell what to do with the Boys, the Missionaries are not here.—I am very sorry for their Delay; it puts us into Confusion. I hope you enjoy very good Health, which I wish may long Continue.—I have no more to add, but that I beg leave to subscribe myself, & be esteemed

Your dutiful & most hble Svt.
JOSEPH WOOLEY

Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Heartford August 17th.

Rev^d^ S^r^

I forgot to beg of M.^r^ Wheelock one Thing, which is this; that you would write to M^r^ Garrett in Favour of the Cause, which his Daughter[1] & I have been about.

She had no Time to settle the Affair with me; makes me to Request such a Favour and after M^r^ Wheelock has known to send me a Word. I cant take it well form her, if at Just at the End, she should turn the Contrary. But O M^r^ Wheelock! let me leave my self with the Living and true God.

S^r^ My Horse yesterday went considerable Lame, So that I could hardly keep up with M^r^ Peck.[2] No more to add but my Duty to you &c.

in hast, from,
Sir,
*your unworthy Ser.^vt^*
Joseph Wooley

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[1] *Hannah Garret, who married David Fowler.*

[2] *Moses Peck, Boston watchmaker, and friend to the school. He died in Boston, March 27, 1801, aged eighty-three. He is said to have become a Sandemanian* (Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., VI, *113, and David Macclure to Wheelock, Nov. 25, 1773).*

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Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

*Onohoguage Sep^r^* 17 1765

Rev.^d^ & Hon.^d^ Sir

By the divine Goodness of God, I am the despairing Monument of his Mercy. I am sorry can give you no better Account as to the Health of my Body; My Ague Fitts has come upon me again, not to such a Degree now as about Week or Ten Days ago.

S.r I keep a School, upwards of 20 Schollers, with some Decency & Regularity; & there is a daily Addition.

S.r Purpose to return God willing to N. England, about the middle of October, or towards the latter End, Tho' I determin'd to tarry 'till next Spring. Mr Smith thinks it advisable I should this Fall, for many Reasons.

I was obliged to bye Provisions to carry to Ohguage, by Mr Smith's Advice; because we heard at Cherry Valley all our Corn were destroyed.

I hope Sir, I shall be enabled to walk before my School as it becometh, & teach them those Tings that I ought which I wish, Long & Pray for.

I have no more to say att present, but my humble Duty to Mr Wheelock,

SIR, *your ver unworthy Servant*

JOSEPH WOOLEY

P.S. Sr If you approve the inclosed, please to deliver it, & Seal it

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Joseph Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock

Onohoguage Sept 30 1765

REV.d Sr

In my last I remember that I told you, I believ'd I shoud return to you this Fall. But considering all Things, I cannot come without doing that which is very Wrong. The Tuskaroras down below want very much to have their children taught, and I believe shall go tomorry there to see if I can do any good among them, shall tarry there till Mr Smith returs. Moses[1] will keep this School as long as I am absent. Sir, I feel better in Health I hope shall be able to keep School this Winter.

Sir, I live pretty well, the Indians behave kindly towards me I am not in want, as to Ashe-Cakes & Corn & Beens. but after all

I dont think I can live so throughout the Winter. For Change of Diet I want that is fat, such as Pork if can only have this I believe I shall get well. Also Cloths I want, Viz. A Great Coat, Wollen Shirts, Yarn Stockings.

I have not been so well as to Build my house But I shall begin as soon as I can endure biger hardship. S^r^ if you should like my Work, that is what I have done, by next Spring I would be glad to know what Number of Cows I may have whether one or two.

I dont think I can come 'till 8 Months end; it may be sooner, as Things shall turn out, & God should spare my Life & Health. I am not under Necessity of more Things as I know of, but what I can get here. Sir I want to hear from you & Affairs at Home. I ask, for your Prayers for me, that I may be judicious, Steady & assisted by the holy Gost. Pray accept my Duty, to Madam, Master, Love to the whole School—I remain

*Your submissive Serv^t^*

JOSEPH WOOLEY

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[1] *A Mohawk, entered Nov. 27, 1761. He was approved as an usher March 12, 1765, by the Conn. Board of Correspondents, and reported* (NARRATIVE II, *13-14) as conducting his school "with the Gravity of a Divine of Fifty or Threescore."*

◆

Lament for Joseph Woolley

Onohoguage 29th Decm,r 1765

FATHER

What hath befell us is very difficult, you made our Hearts glad when you Sent us a teacher to instruct our children, we were likewise glad that he determined to spend his life with us, that So our children might learn to read, he appeared to be a very Serious young Man, but he is Dead, which very much grieves our Hearts—Father, it is a very great loss to us indeed for he was a very Sober Man, a very good Teacher, he understood ye Book well, which but a few do, we fear their are none will equal his place—We think, Father, it was not our fault, t'was God that determined it, he Set ye bound, that none could pass, But Joseph is dead and what can we Say more, we think perhaps God did this to try us, he Sent one among us, who had but a Short Time to live, to See how we Should be affected with it; when the time is come all means fail, and no help can be found—

Father, concerning what you wrote to us about building him an house and fenceing a pasture, we had not done it, but had determined to help him about those things if he had lived—Father we send our regards to you and to the other Ministers who assist you.

Present in Councill
ADDAM
ISAAC
PETER
THOMAS
JACOB
DAVID *&c*

WRITTEN TO
THE REVD. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

◆

Elisha Gunn to Eleazar Wheelock

Onohoguage 14th *Janry* 1766

REVd AND DEAR Sr

It is with much heaviness that I acquaint you of the Death of Mr Joseph Wooley. for I am sure it will be heavy News to you and the Rest of his Acquaintence, he is much lamented By the Indans of this place Whome he was Sent to Instruct, amounge Whome While he lived Behaved himself so far as I can Understand Very wisley and Descreet and amoung Whome if he had livid to an

Ege of Reason, might have Don much Servis for God and his Generation but alass he is gon and what Shall wee Say, the Will of God is Don—Even so Amen.

he Never was confined to the Hous till Some Time in Oct^{br}, while I was Gon Down to Albany, at my Return he Desired to come Down to my House and live with us Thinking that my Wife could Take Better Care of him then the Indans. we acordingly brought him heare Whear he continued Till he Died Which was on ye 29th[1] of Nov^{br} with a Consumption, he was Taken Hoarse Soon after he was confined to his bead and Could not Speak so as to be heard without much pain he had His Reason till the last and Died full in the Belief of the Trust of the Christian Religon, But Seemed to be something in the Dark as to his hope, he Exercised much patiance in his Sickness, his Life and Conversation Seemed to be Blameless and I hope Exchanged This Troublesom State for a Gloryouss Immortality, it is now a Time of Helth and pace amongue us No Remarkable Aultersations Since M^{r} Smith left us

I Remain Sir

Your most Obedient humble Ser^{t}

ELISHA GUNN

PS please to Give my kind
Complyments to the Honourable Commisioners and your family

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[1] *or "27th" (?).*

Eleazar Wheelock to Isaac Dakayenensere

Lebanon 26th *July*. 1766.

My Brother

I received a Lett^{r} from y^{r} Cheifs dated Dec^{r} 29th. It came to my hand 30th of March last. Wherein you condoled y^{e} Death of my Dear Joseph Woolley. his Death was a gr^{t} Loss to You—for tho' he was Young he began to be zealous to do good & looked likely to be a very useful man in a little Time & I hoped God intended to make him a great Blessing to you but God see best to take him away & We have never a Word to say against What he dos for he dos all things Well. tho' we dont see it—I thank you for your kindness to him while he lived if he left any things which he did not give away you may let the Bearer Sam^{l} Ashpo have them. This Saml Ashpo is Sent to preach at Jeningo I hope the Indians will all be kind to him. I hope he will do them Good & persuade them to accept of the Great Salvation & be happy forever I thank my Brothers for that Letter.

I also received a Letter from you last Spring which I now thank you for, my Brother, & am glad to hear by M^{r} Mosley that You ha' treated him Well. & y.^{t} y.^{o} Yet follow after Relign. my Heart is full of Love and good Will to You. I Want to be doing Something for you but dont know What to do. The Boston Comiss^{rs} look upon Y^{o} to be their Special Charge & we must take care not to hinder one another I would have Sent y^{o} School Master y^{s} Spring in the Room of Jos. Woolley but I don't know but they Will Send one & y^{n} y^{o} would not want one from me. and therefore I ha' sent him to the Mohocks—I suppose M^{r} Moseley will tell the Comissioners there fully what your Case is & I doubt not but y^{a} will do all they can for you. but they are a great Way from me & I know but little about them. I long to hear that you have all imbraced Christianity with your whole hearts & that you are become y^{e} pp. w^{c} G. delights in. I hope to hear y^{t} G^{t}. w^{k} of

Gd is going on among you. I hear that our King George is a great Friend to the spreading the Gos. among the Indians, & that many Great men are Willing to help forward the Design—I sent the Letter which you sent me last fall Home to England and they have printed it there With a Numb^r^ of other Letters in a Book[1] & have sent back one of them to me—I give my Love to you & all the Cheifs of Your Tribe & wish you all Good. and am your Brother always ready ready to do you all y^e^ Good I can

ELEAZ^r^ WHEELOCK

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[1] *Wheelock's third* NARRATIVE *(London, 1766), in which a letter from Isaac (Sept. 29, 1765) is printed, 47.*

◆

David Avery to Eleazar Wheelock

(THE INDIANS REJECT ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S OFFERS[1])

Knanawarohare Feby 24th. 1772

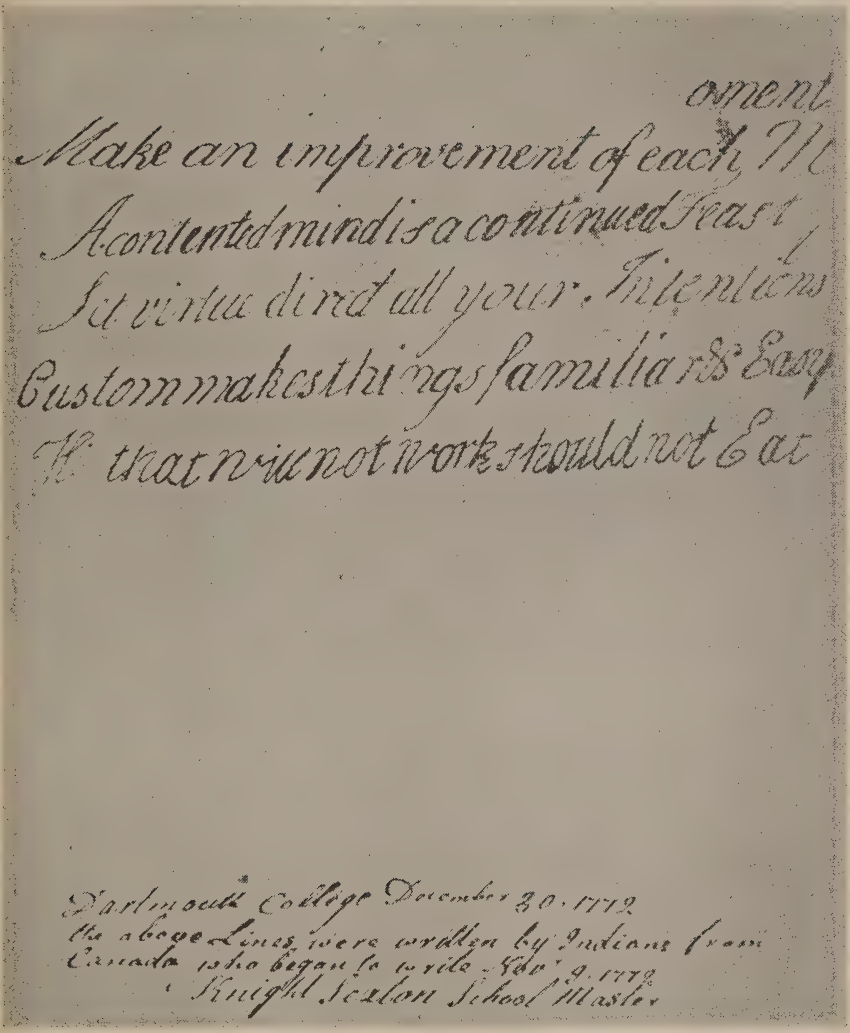
Mr. Kirkland delivered the following speech to the chiefs of Onoida tribe in my name.

My brethren & children, give attention while I speak a few words.

What I now design is only to remind you of the encouragement you gave Doctor Wheelock, last fall, of a more full answer, this winter or spring ensuing, to his message here by me.

You must now think, as the spring approaches, your great father's eyes are turned this way, & his ears in expectation of a voice from the wilderness. Therefore I shall say no more, only desire you will take no offence, that a lad should take upon him to awaken the attention and quicken the memory of great men, or lords as you are called, to their own business & engagements.

I mean well, my brethren & children.—May the Father of lights direct you into the right way. This is all I have to say.



oment
Make an improvement of each, M
A contented mind is a continued Feast
Let virtue direct all your. Intentions
Custom makes things familiar & Easy
He that will not work should not Eat

Dartmouth College December 30. 1772
the above Lines were written by Indians from
Canada who began to write Novr 9. 1772
Knight Sexton School Master

BEGINNERS' EFFORTS. Reduced from original in possession of Dartmouth College.

N.B. The above speech was well received, & an answer promised as soon as possible.

March 3, 1772. The Indians assembled at Mr Kirkland's house, when the following speech was delivered in the name of the head men & warriers, both of Kanawarohare & Old-Onoida, by Tagawaron, speaker.

Father attend: open your ears to hear for our father the great minister, who is at a great distance from us, & in the woods as well as we.

Father, attend while we address you in his person. Father, we understand by your speech, last fall, that you still love us, & pray for your children the Onoidas. We thank you: all of us thank heartily. & on this head, we ask that you continue to love & pray for us, as we have begun a little in earnest to pray for ourselves.

Father, you requested of us the reasons of our taking away our children from your school; why we have not returned them; & whether we intend they shall ever return.

Father, the two first we judge sufficiently answered in our speech last fall; & one made to our father who resides among us, long ago.

Father, possess your mind in peace: don't let us give you any uneasiness in what we shall say on this head.

We do not consent to your proposals of our children's returning to you. We rather choose to make farther trial of them under our own eye, that we observe their conduct, they being under our constant watch, & subject to our daily correction when they misbehave. Father, possess your mind in peace.

You remember what we said when we took away our children first—what reasons we gave to our father residing among us—and what we said last fall:—all these things Father, you perfectly know—therefore we say, Father, possess your mind in peace.

Father, you. may think our children are under instruction. Our present Indian schoolmaster, Mundius, for this town, is one of your scholars—taught by you—imbibed your sentiments—&

practises your religion—therefore we may say, we, as it were, hear your voice; have your instructions & service in our school.

Father, you have now heard our whole minds. We are resolved to continue in the same opinion & practice.

Once more: we have all carefully considered the import of your message: every person has spoke for himself; therefore you will receive what has been said, not merely as the result of the council but the voice of the whole town.

David Avery *scripsit*

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[1] *Wheelock sent David Avery in 1771 to the Oneida country to report, among other matters, on the attitude of the Indians toward his missionaries and toward sending their children to Hanover. Avery wrote Wheelock this account, which shows clearly the harm wrought by Ralph Wheelock during his visit of 1768, and the Indians' distaste for Wheelock's efforts. Wheelock made one more attempt to gain recruits from the Six Nations by sending John Mathews and Abraham Simons, Indians, to the Tuscaroras (Feb. 1772), but again the Indians refused to send their children. In June, 1772, Avery delivered a valedictory address to the Indians, listing their sins in thirty categories, with sub-headings, followed by nineteen remarks and admonitions. Thus terminated Wheelock's relations with the Six Nations. From this point on he recruited from Canada.*

◆

David Avery's Address to the Indians, and their Answers (Spring, 1772)

The council of greatmen met at Mr Kirkland's when I delivered the following speech to them Mr Kirkland being interpreter.

My brethren, attend while I speak a few words.

I have been for sometime very desirous of an interview with you the head men, & waited impatiently for your return from your hunting quarters. I now embrace the first opportunity of unloading my mind, which is principally in communicating to you a late message I received from Doctor Wheelock, which is this, as his letter informs.—

"I have heard there is a prospect of English schools being erected "in some adjacent villages near where Mr Kirkland resides. I have

"accordingly sent to your care & disposal John Matthews & Abra-
"ham Simons: and in their settlement as school masters you will
"consult the headmen of Kanawarohare."

As you were absent at their arrival I could do nothing towards introducing them into schools, altho according to my own judgment & the appearance of things, I see no probability of their taking schools in your vicinity. As I view the Indians, & from the best information I can get, they are far otherwise disposed: but you know best.

Our father, Doctor Wheelock, is so well disposed, & upon so benevolent a design, towards the heathen, that he does not even suspect but that all these Indians will readily fall in with his generous proposals of their receiving the gospel. It seems also from his great distance he does not know how the Indians in general stand affected towards the gospel of Jesus, & what their opinion is of his school.

I may tell you he is yet in some expectation of a favorable answer from Onondaga to his former message by his son. But I understand many of you are surprised that your father should ever expect, or take any encouragement from what past there at that time, that they would soon embrace the gospel.

Now, my brethren, I desire you, in faithfulness to your father, & the cause of Jesus Christ, that you would inform *just* how matters stand with respect to religion in your vicinity. Your result on this head I shall immediately communicate to him, which he will be very glad to receive.

This is all, my brethren, I have to mention for your consultation.

P.S. I advised the young men to employ their time in some kind of labor 'till your return, that they might not set a bad example before the heathen.

N. B. After the foregoing speech I gave them an account, only as a piece of intelligence, of Dr. Wheelock's design of sending Messrs

Maccluer & Frisbie to Muskingham, as upon application from the reverend synod of Philidelphia.

Then three of the council made the following animadversions upon the subject.

Thomas to the lords present.

We can not but be sensible that this is a reasonable request from our father the less; & not only reasonable but necessary for the support of Truth. Truth, my brethern, should always be brought to light. O that you lords would once let our father know your minds; just how you are disposed towards the gospel, & what you think of his methods of instructing the Indians: be there ever so many & great objections in your minds, bring them to light. You also know how often we have entreated you lords to employ your minds upon this head. You sachems well know the minds of our neighbours, as how they stand affected towards spiritual things, & with what contempt the *great men* in particular treated our father's message to the Onondagas some years past. If you lords could once be prevailed upon to enlarge our great father's mind, he *never more* would expect any encouragement from the tenor of their answer.

Our great father is really to be pitied! He resides yonder at a great distance, in the woods[1] as well as we, & knows nothing what is done & doing here among us Indians. There he sits & thinks–& longs to have all the Indians become an holy people– & does not conceive or imagine any great obstacles in the way, because his heart is so full of benevolence towards the Indians, & thinks that they must view his good designs in the same light as he does.

Perhaps you don't so well understand this language–but some out of a small number among us I apprehend understands this. For instance: a very few of us hope we understand the gospel of Jesus, & how good a thing religion is;–& we wonder that all our brethren don't see & think as we do–but we know Indians, & how artful they are in concealing & disguising.

I now hope you lords will be faithful to our great father, & enlarge his mind; with which he will be well pleased; & Jesus will be wellpleased too, when *Truth shall come to light.*

You know as well as we, that there is not the least probability or prospect of the gospel's advancing farther among us, as things stand at present.

Aghshinhare next speaks.

Truly, my brethren, these things are all right & expedient. It would not have been wise for him to have acted alone in an affair of such importance, to wit, of enlarging our great father's mind: tho' it is very evident our father the less[2] begins to understand Indians—he has learnt well for the time he has been here. It is incumbent on us to act the faithful part, & practise this dissembling no longer. It is highly necessary we speak plain, & give our great father a thorough understanding of affairs among the Indians.

Oskcanondouh adds—At first view these things are very just & weighty, & demand a careful consideration.

After a long pause the headmen gave me to expect an answer in three or four days.

Kanawarohare June 5th 1772

The headmen met at Mr Kirkland's house, & delivered the following answer to the above.

Father, attend, & hear for our father the less. The occasion of our entering your house this morning is, to answer the speech delivered us the other day-evening from our great father, which was this (here repeated over the speech *verbatim*)

Father now attend; hear the result of our council—as you desired us to speak plainly & deal faithfully, so we shall do.

Our minds do not advance with the great minister's proposal: indeed they are at a perfect stand. We see no way open for prosecuting his purposes.

English schools we do not approve of here, as serviceable to our spiritual interest: & almost all those who have been instructed in English are a reproach to us. This we supposed our father was long ago sufficiently appraised of.

And as to our neighbouring towns, there is not, at present, the least gleam of light—even no appearance at all which embraces such a proposal.

Our father does not know the mind of Indians: their minds are invincible: they are strongly attached to other things. We don't say to what their minds are most strongly inclined; but of this we are confident, that they are not disposed to embrace the Gospel: for here we are upon the spot, with open ears, ready to receive such intelligence.

Moreover; we are dispised by our brethren, on account of our christian profession. Time was when we were esteemed as honorable & important in the confederacy: but now we are looked upon as small things; or rather nothing at all. Now may we not well conclude that they don't favor your designs? or would they not speak well of us, instead of reproaching us for embracing this religion you are endeavoring to publish among them?

As to your expectations of a favorable answer from the Onondagas, we must desire you to cut off your hope, & not protract it to any farther length; for we know by experience that hope defered is very painful.

Father we must tell you, Your former speech there, by your son, made so little impression, & left so few marks, that we have never been able since to find any traces of it; tho' we have often discoursed with one & another upon the subject. We never conceived that the least expectation should be at all excited in our great father's mind of their acceptance of his proposal, from what past there, if he has been rightly informed.

(Then turning to Mr Kirkland they proceeded—And you father, well knew, having often heard, the result of that meeting,

& we took it for granted you had rightly informed our great father, *long ago*.)

Our great father the great minister is at great trouble & expence to gospelise us Indians—& must be grieved, even pained in heart, that so many of his designs are frustrated; & so many of his attempts prove utterly abortive! To remedy this, we advise our father to consider well, & take good heed in his future endeavors—yea, let him take very good heed. Let him move slowly; very slowly.—Let him examine thoroughly & critically in the minds & state of the Indians, in whatever place he may design any future mission. We pity him on account of his great distance from the Indian country.—

How often has he sent, this great distance, with high expectations of success, when there has not been the least encouraging appearance among us! And so his missions have turned out a mere sham, & all in vain! Why, father, we are here upon the spot, within hearing of what passes through the whole house of our confederacy; if we had ever heard anything encourageing, from any quarter of our neighbourhood, with respect to the gospel's moveing forward, we should have instantly informed you. And here are those who are commissioned more immediately for that purpose.

As to what we understand of your son's mission to Onondaga, & their answer, we lords beg to refer you to those who have attended your son in his journey there; as they undoubtedly may be more perfectly acquainted with the whole transactions, on both sides; & also inform what past there. Here sits one, *Thomas* by name, who well knows the whole affair from first to last.

Whenever we hear of any place in our neighbourhood, we shall readily inform our father the great minister, that he may not send any more in vain at this great distance.

We would again desire that our father's long deferd expectations from Onondaga may pain him no more—& hope he will take good heed & well digest his future missions. Let him not send again without sufficient information & good encouragement:

because some Indians are not wise, & have thought they must too hastily become religious, before they have time to make their choice, & duly considered the nature of the offers made them.

Father, agreeable to your desire we have thus spoke our minds freely & with fidelity.—

Then *Thomas* in council, delivered the following narrative.[3] My brethren, agreeable to your desire I shall relate what past here, & in the journey of the great minister's son to Onondaga: altho you are as well acquainted with every material transaction as I am.

Father the less attend. When our father sat out from hence Mr Wheelock spake as follows—

My brethren, I am come here on business of importance, sent by my father. I am surprised that *your* father has run away upon my comeing. I depended upon his assistance, & so did my father, as he trained him up for this purpose. I am bound to Onondaga, to know their minds respecting my father's school. You see, my brethren, my situation. I am left alone. I now ask your assistance. You see your father has run off in this manner & left me. And it seems that instead of helping, he is counteracting my father.

To this, father the less, we replied as follows—Your situation, brother, is very difficult: but we wonder you should expect our father's assistance, when he wants one to lead himself. He has been for a great while scarce able to speak, & be sure not to run.

Moreover, brother, the time was appointed for his removal before you came, & we advised to it: tho' some of us thought he never would be able to perform the journey, & would die by the way.

We do not advise you, throther, to go forward this season. Here we mentioned the difficulties attending the journey, & said we don't apprehend their minds are yet prepared to embrace the gospel.

Mr Wheelock replied—Brethren, I am determined to go forward, let what will come. I will see & hear for myself. And these are my father's orders. I shall be glad you will give me two men, who understand the way to conduct me.

The lords replied—If you, brother, are thus resolutely set, & fully determined to go forward, we say no more—but comply with your request. Here are two men ready for you.

Mr Wheelock replies—Brethren, I heartily thank you for granting my request for two men. This strengthens me—& this is assisting my father; & not counteracting & opposeing him.

NB. the above are the capital arguments—but what seemed to lead & determine the council was what past in private between Mr Wheelock & Thomas before they met, which he delivered in their session, as follows—

After his acquainting me with his design, we talked together with freedom. And having made many fruitless attempts to discourage his proceedure, at length thought I would mention *this,* & said—Our father had proposed to us some time before his sickness to go & search the minds of the Onondagas, & advised that we should make the first attempt; but if we advised to it, he would accompany us. This we agreed to. But some reports have lately arose, & disaffected their minds; which, with our father's sickness, have prevented the journey: & I imagine our head-men will not advise to your going forward at this time—& would rather their father should go with them, as he is acquainted & knows Indian minds.—To which Mr Wheelock replied, with an air of resentment & an elevated voice, Who do you think your father is? Do you think his power & authority are equal to *mine?* He is no more than my father's servant—& so are all those ministers & schoolmasters he sends here.

After these things we went on agreeable to his request— went to Onondaga, & a council was opened.

My brethren, I am sent here by my father, the great minister of New-England, who has a great love for you Indians. His desire is to instruct you into the mind of God. And this is according to the command of Christ, that his word should be carried to all nations. In consequence of this I have come here. My father is now engaged to fulfil this command of God.

When you come to know the whole word of God, & our religion, you will become wise in all things. You will be wise for labor & trade: but particularly happy when you come to die, as you will go to heaven.—Here he mentioned a great variety of particulars, in which his father would instruct them—even all sorts of work—that they would know how to trade with the white people & not be cheated.

My father pities you much in your ignorance, by which the white people take great advantage, & wrong you out of one half of your commodities, & your lands.

When you come to learn & understand the *holy book* you will know all these things.

Now, if you are desirous, here is one with me who shall tarry & begin to instruct your children. And if you will send some of your children back with me, I will be their immediate instructor.

He then mentioned a certain book, published at Philadelphia, in which were enumerated the many losses the Indians have sustained in their sale of lands; & what pity their circumstances demanded.

This my father paid great regard to—

I hope you will carefully consider all these things I have told you, as I am sent in consequence of the command of Jesus, & by immediate orders of my father, who is the *head* of the ministers in New-England, & known the other side the waters; & many great ones both on this & the other side are engaged to assist in his instructing the Indians. I act in concert with my father, engaged in the same work: You will therefore consider me here speaking in his stead—& when he dies I shall succeed him, & manage all the affairs of instructing the Indians.

Now you see I have told you all things—If you do not receive & embrace the message I am upon, I shall wash my hands of your blood. My father also will be clear of the blood of you all. And it may be Jesus is about to return, then we shall all see & know the truth of these things.

They replied—

Brother, we heartily thank you that we now understand the whole of your message, as you are come with the word of God.

You have spoke exceeding well! Very *sweet* words indeed, as comeing from the tongue, from when we perceive you have spoke!

But brother, do you think we are altogether ignorant of your methods of instruction? (Then takeing & shakeing him by the shoulder said) Why, brother, you are deceiveing yourself! We understand not only your speech, but your *manner* of teaching Indian. We understand affairs that are transacted at a great distance to the westward——they are all brought here; this is our centering council-house: just so well am I acquainted with your deportment. I view all your conduct as just by, under my eyes. Take care brother!—In the first place, correct yourself. Learn yourself to understand the word of God, before you undertake to teach & govern others: for when you have come to understand it yourself, perhaps some of our children will like to make trial of your instructions. For the present brother, I shall watch your future conduct. You have spoke *exceeding* well, even to our *surprise,* that our children should become *wise in all things* by your instructions, & treated as *children* at your house, & not *servants!*

Brother, take care—you were too hasty, & strong in your manner of speaking, before the children & boys have any knowledge of your language.

Why, brother, if another hears my dog barking, or having hold of a creature, & bids him get out, & perhaps he don't obey him immediately, not understanding the voice; upon which the stranger catches up a club & malls my dog—I shall resent it because he is my dog. Brother, I love my dog. What do you think of children then in the like case?

Here they spake with high elevation of voice, & their answers back were loud shouts of contempt—Upon which I desired them to speak more moderately, as Mr Wheelock was ignorant of their language, & in a strange country. I saw he was much affrighted & feared he would go into one of his usual fits.

The sachem upon this immediately turned to the speaker, & desired him to lower & soften his voice. This he did: but soon broke off, when they whispered sometime among themselves, & at length proceeded again & said—

Brother, you must learn of the French ministers if you would understand, & know how to treat Indians. They don't speak roughly; nor do they for every little mistake take up a club & flog them. It seems to us that they teach the word of God—they are very charitable—& can't see those they instruct *naked* or *hungry*.

The speaker then gave a long narration of the settlement of an Indian town by a Jesuit, who began with two or three families; & by his understanding Indians, the town increased amazingly: & if they had not been conquered all their people would have embraced their religion before this time.

Brother, possess your mind in peace. We will take into consideration the message you have brought us:—But our people must assemble first.

As the word of God is of such vast importance, our brethern the *outward* door, the *Senecas,* must be informed. When they speak their minds, you shall hear ours; if *they* embrace your message, *we* shall undoubtedly.

Neither our brethren the *Mohawks,* nor the *Onoidas* did tell us when they began to embrace your religion. But we are the central-council-house, & can't determine without the voice of all our distant brethren.

DAVID AVERY scripsit.

NB. Many other things were delivered in the Onondaga speech, which are here omitted because the Interpreter could not communicate them to Mr Wheelock; but so much as is here translated, was taken for granted by the Indians, he fully comprehended."

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[1] *i.e., in Hanover, N. H., characterized by Wheelock at the time as a "howling wilderness." But a census of the town taken in 1773 shows the following population:*

Unmarried men (*16-60*)	*58*	Females, married	*54*
Married men (*16-60*)	*49*	Widows	*0*
Boys under *16*	*86*	Males Slaves	*4*
Men over *60*	*7*	Female Slaves	*4*
Females, unmarried	*80*	Total	*342*
		Students at College	*90*

[2] *i.e., David Avery.*

[3] *Thomas, an Oneida, is here summarizing Ralph's remarks to the Oneidas and Onondagas in 1768. The slur on Kirkland ("I am surprised that your father has run away upon my comeing") shows how unfair Ralph could be. According to Ralph's journal (quoted* Narrative *V, 44, ff.) he met Kirkland March 20, 1768. Kirkland was then very ill and Ralph was bringing him medicines and a physician, who had to turn back because of ill health. Smallpox broke out among the missionaries, and Kirkland, already enfeebled, decided to return at once to New England. Kirkland was highly regarded by the Six Nations, and Ralph's imputations of cowardice and treachery were therefore most tactless, as well as false.*

Appendices

Appendix A. *A list of the Indians who attended Moor's Charity School from 1754 to 1779 (in which year Eleazar Wheelock died).*

Appendix B. *Notes on Seven Missionary Societies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.*

Appendix C. *Bibliography of works cited in this volume.*

Appendix A

A List of the Indians Who Attended Moor's Charity School from 1754 to 1779 (in Which Year Eleazar Wheelock Died)

Page numbers in parentheses refer to information given in this volume.

[1743-1748 Samson Occom, Mohegan. (75)]

1754 John Pumshire, Delaware. (31)

Jacob Woolley, Delaware. (249)

1757 Samson Woyboy, Pequot, from Groton, probably a cousin of Samson Occom. Before coming to Wheelock he had taught an Indian school at Mushantuxet, but "gave up to one who could write and cipher better." He entered February 8, and withdrew after nineteen weeks because of "bodily infirmities of long standing." In 1759 he taught again at Mushantuxet, and in 1760 at Stonington. In 1762 he was a soldier, and died a few years later, perhaps while still in service (Love, 63-64).

Joseph Woolley, Delaware. (263)

Hezekiah Calvin, Delaware. (47)

1758 Joseph Johnson, Mohegan. (121)

1759 David Fowler, Montauk. (85)

1760 Aaron Occom, Mohegan. (233)

Isaiah Uncas, Mohegan. (39)

1761 Amy Johnson, Mohegan. (90)

Joseph Brant, Mohawk. (72)

Negyes, Mohawk. Entered August 1, returned to his tribe in the fall, "was captivated by a young Female and married" (Narr. I, 42).

Center, Mohawk. Entered and returned with Negyes, died soon after.

Miriam Storrs, Delaware. (239)

Moses, Mohawk. (272)

JOHANNES, Mohawk. Brought (with Moses) by Samuel Kirkland and Joseph Brant, November 27. Approved as usher (assistant schoolmaster) March 12, 1765. Served later as interpreter to Wheelock's missionaries among the Six Nations.

1762 SARAH WYOG, Mohegan. (233)

ENOCH CLOSS, Delaware. Ran away in 1765.

SAMUEL TALLMAN, Delaware. According to Love (69-70) he "became a carpenter, lived among the New England Indians, being at one time at Stockbridge, and was eventually associated with them in the westward emigration."

DANIEL MOSSOCK, of the Tunxis tribe at Farmington. Remained only a few months. He was a soldier during the Revolution.

ABRAHAM *Primus,* ABRAHAM *Secundus,* PETER, Mohawks. Approved as ushers March 12, 1765, and subsequently taught school among the Mohawks.

PATIENCE JOHNSON, Mohegan. Dismissed.

SAMUEL ASHPO, Mohegan. (33)

JACOB FOWLER, Montauk. (115)

1763 EMANUEL SIMON, Narraganset. (219)

HANNAH POQUIANTUP, Niantic. "Went away a few months after" (Wheelock's note).

HANNAH GARRET, Pequot, resident among the Narragansets. Married David Fowler, 1766.

MARY SECUTER, Narraganset. (235)

1764 WILLIAM *Primus,* Mohawk. Said to have been a natural son of Sir William Johnson. Sent home December 10, 1766. Fought on the British side during the Revolution, and was killed (Love, 68).

WILLIAM *Secundus,* Mohawk.

ELIAS, Mohawk. I know nothing of him except that "little Elias received a bad blow with a Ballstick from one of his mates as they were playing together but he is in a way to be well soon" (Wheelock to Sir William Johnson, April 29, 1769).

1765 JOHN DAVIES, Mohawk. Halsey (141, quoting from a journal of 1769) mentions this Indian as having received an education at the school. This is the only reference I know to Davies, and I place him as of this year simply at a guess.

SUSANNAH, KATHARINE, MARY, Mohawks. Katharine and Mary went home about January 9, 1767.

DAVID, Oneida. Returned to his tribe in 1766.

JACOB, Oneida. Went home in the spring of 1767 (Narr. V, 31), brought back to school in fall of same year. (Narr. V, 34)

MUNDIUS, Oneida. Was reported as late as 1772 as teaching in the Oneida country.

SARAH SIMON, Narraganset. (219)

CHARLES DANIEL, Narraganset. Withdrawn by his father in 1767.

1766 JOHN GREEN, SETH, Mohawks. "Went home suppose Feb. 16, 1767" (Wheelock's note).

WILLIAM, Oneida.

PAULUS, Mohawk. "Went home suppose Janʸ 9, 1767" (Wheelock's note).

JOHN SHATTOCK, TOBY SHATTOCK, Toby's wife and child, Narragansets. (201)

MAGRARET, Mohawk. Went home January 9, 1767.

1767 ABIGAIL, MARTHA, Narragansets.

JOHN SECUTER, Narraganset. Brother of Mary (Love, 360)

SAMUEL NILES, Narraganset.

JAMES SIMON, Narraganset. (219)

JOHN MATTHEWS, Narraganset.

NATHAN CLAP, "a Cape Cod Indian." (69)

In the fall of this year Ralph Wheelock recruited among the Six Nations. His statement of results is not clear (Narr. V, 30, 31, 34). Seemingly he left with Jacob, Oneida, who had already attended the school, and two other boys. I know of no evidence to prove that they arrived at Lebanon. Love (73) states that Ralph returned with Little Peter, son of the deceased Oneida chief, Gawke, a girl, and two boys whose names are unknown, and Jacob.

1768 JAMES NILES, Narraganset. A soldier in the Revolution, and later one of the Brothertown Indians.

HANNAH NONESUCH, Mohegan. (233)

ABRAHAM SIMON, DANIEL SIMON, Narragansets. (219)

HANNAH, Oneida, daughter of Deacon Thomas. Withdrawn January 20, 1769. In the fall of this year Ralph Wheelock recruited six children from the Six Nations. There is no evidence that they entered the school.

1771 JOHN CONKAPOT, of Stockbridge. Enlisted in army as John Stockbridge (Chase, 308).

PETER POHQUONNOPPEET, of Stockbridge. (222)

1772 BENJAMIN TOWSEY, tribe? (245)

LEWIS VINCENT, Huron from Lorette, Canada. Dartmouth College graduate, 1781.

SEBASTIAN VINCENT, Huron from Lorette.

THOMAS STACEY, half-breed from Caughnawaga. Dartmouth College non-graduate (1779-83).

JOHN PHILLIPS, half-breed from Caughnawaga. Dartmouth College non-graduate (1779-81).

Six unnamed Indians from Caughnawaga. Also an unnamed Indian from Stockbridge, sent by John Sergeant.

1773 An unnamed Natic from Saint Francis.

ABRAHAM, DAVID, JOHN, an unnamed Indian, all from Stockbridge.

1774-79 FRANCIS JOSEPH GILL (known later as Annance), St. Francis half-breed. Remained until 1780, having been part of the time at Dartmouth College. Sent a son to the school at beginning of next century.

FRANCIS JOSEPH GILL, JR., ANTHONY GILL, BENEDICT GILL, St. Francis half-breeds. Withdrew in 1777.

Two unnamed Indians, one from Caughnawaga, the other from Stockbridge.

I add here the names of other Indians, without attempting for the most part to place them by year. Some of these Indians may be already included in some of the uncertain statements above.

JOSEPH MEECHEEHAUMPAUH, PAUL WAUPEETHAWN, "AARON, son of HARRIS," Stockbridge.

SAMUEL SQUINTUP, from Connecticut.

BILL NOLAUKSIN

JOHN SAUCH (from Caughnawaga)

Montuit (from Canada—Indian?)

Tribou (from Canada—Indian?)

Michael, WILLIAM FROMEE (Caughnawaga)

Wesa or Wisha (from Canada. February 4, 1776-March, 1776).

Eneas (from Canada. February 19, 1776. Buried March 3, 1776).

The Indians in the above list are apportioned as follows:

Canadian	15
Delawares	7
Miscellaneous New England	8
Mohawks	19
Mohegans	9
Montauks	2
Narragansets	16
Oneidas	5
Stockbridge	8
TOTAL	89

Macclure states (64) that one hundred and fifty Indians attended the school during Wheelock's life. If this statement is correct (as one-time student at the school, and as Wheelock's favorite student and life-long friend, he is entitled to respect), it is obvious that many names have been lost. Of the Indians listed above, four attended college but were not graduated. Jacob Woolley (College of New Jersey), Francis Joseph Gill, John Phillips, Thomas Stacey (Dartmouth), and three were graduated: Daniel Simon (Dartmouth, 1777), Peter Pohquonnoppeet (Dartmouth, 1780), and Lewis Vincent (Dartmouth, 1781).

The reader who wishes information about the Indians who attended Moor's Charity School or Dartmouth College after Wheelock's death (1779) is referred to a list prepared by Professor Eric Kelly (DARTMOUTH ALUMNI MAGAZINE, December, 1929), and to a fuller list by Professor L. B. Richardson (*Idem,* June, 1930).

Appendix B

NOTES ON SEVEN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

In the following accounts the editor has tried to state clearly the relationship or non-relationship of various societies which have been frequently confused because of the similarity of their names. The treatment in this paper of these societies is uneven, because the editor has considered them primarily from the point of view of Eleazar Wheelock's missionary activities.

I.

The New England Company. There is no authority in law for this name. It was assumed to avoid confusion with the other societies, and seems to have been used first in 1770.[1] The name is applied to both (I) and (II).

The official name of the organization was originally the *President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,* and as such it was established by Parliament July 27, 1649, mainly as the result of information sent from this country to England by those interested in converting the Indians, and especially by John Eliot. The *Society* was composed of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, empowered to acquire lands not exceeding the yearly value of two thousand pounds, and in addition, goods and money. A subscription in England and Wales (Cromwell was one of its sponsors) yielded nearly twelve thousand pounds, most of which was invested in estates in England.

The *Society* was represented in this country by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who had power to appoint and subsidize missionaries. In 1650 the "Commissioners for the Massachusetts" reported that they had already spent between three and four hundred pounds, advised that one hundred pounds be given Edward Winslow, and reported favorably on the work of Eliot and Mayhew.[2] In 1654 the *Society* complained that the Commissioners were not supporting Eliot adequately, and advised an increase in salary. In the following year the Commissioners voted that "a Coat "of about 3 yards of the Coursest Cloth bee made up and given to "the Sagamore of Aggawam to Incurrage him to learn to know god "and to exsite other Indians to doe the like,"[3] and about the same time[4] listed the names of those employed by them among the Indians: John Eliot, Francis Eliot, three Indian interpreter-schoolmasters, Thomas Mayhew, Peter Forgler, two Indians employed by Mayhew, Thomas Weld, Abraham Pierson, and "Mr. Rawson our Agent."

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[1] TRANSACTIONS OF THE COL. SOC. OF MASS., VI., *181, note by W. M. Venning, at one time clerk of the society.*

[2] ACTS OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES, I, *161 ff.*

In September, 1653, the Commissioners for Massachusetts were asked by the authorities of Harvard to order the building of "one "Intyre Rome att the College for the Conveniencye of six hopfull "Indians Youthes to bee trained up there."[5] A small brick building, known as Indian College, was erected at the expense of the *Society,* and was a failure. "Change of diet, lodging, apparel, and studies" proved harmful to the Indians, some of whom died, and others were discouraged. Only one Indian, Caleb Cheeschaumuck, was graduated (in 1665), and he died about a year later of consumption. The building was torn down in 1698.[6] The *Society* also financed the printing of Eliot's translation into Natick of the Bible.[7]

II.

With the Restoration the *Society* became dead in law, and on application to the Crown a new charter was completed (Feb. 7, 1661) for the *Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America.* There were forty-five members, Churchmen and Dissenters. Missionary work was supported during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (the Mayhews were in the employ of these two societies for one hundred and fifty years). Operations were suspended during the Revolution, and in 1786 the *Company* transferred its activities to New Brunswick. Since then the work has been carried on among Canadian Indians.

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[3] IDEM, II, *141.*

[4] IDEM, *167. On 205 ff. is a longer list.*

[5] HARVARD COLLEGE RECORDS, I, *lxxxii, in* PUB. OF THE COL. SOC. OF MASS., XV.

[6] *Josiah Quincy,* HISTORY OF HARVARD COLLEGE, I, *191-2. Also Daniel Gookin,* HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND, MASS., HIST. SOC. COLL., I, *173.*

[7] ACTS, II, *256 ff.*

The means which the *Company* has for financing missions are derived from (1) money raised by the first society, its predecessor (2) a fund willed by Robert Boyle, first governor of the *Company* (3) property willed by the Rev. Daniel Williams (d. Jan. 26, 1715), which the *Company* acquired in 1745. This property, located in Essex, England, was to be used partly for itinerant preachers in the West Indies, and partly for the benefit of Harvard College.[8]

Wheelock received contributions from the *New England Company* through its Boston Board, which he sometimes calls the London Board. He gives his receipts as follows:

1756	£12	L.M.	Narrative I, 37ff.
1758	20		
1760	20		
1761	12		
1762	10.10		
1762-63	10		Narrative II, 5
1763-64	20		Idem, 7
1764-65	20		Idem, 9, 11
1765-67	40		Narrative V, 135, 139
Total	£164.10	L.M.	

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[8] *Information for this paragraph, and in general for the history of the Company, has been derived from Busk, Henry William,* A Sketch of the Origin and Recent History of the New England Company, *London, 1884. (Busk was senior member of the Company when he wrote this work, and is therefore to be considered the authority on its history.) The reader who is interested in this subject is referred to the following works:* The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot, *Pub. of the Prince Soc., Boston, 1920 (seventeenth century records, with an introduction by G. P. Winship);* Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies, *etc., London, 1896.*

In 1767 the Boston Board withdrew its aid from Wheelock because of the large sum raised in England by Nathaniel Whitaker and Samson Occom, and at Wheelock's disposal.

These sums had been transmitted to Wheelock by Andrew Oliver, acting for the *New England Company*. Because Oliver, as secretary to the Massachusetts General Assembly, informed Wheelock also of donations from that body, confusion is likely to arise regarding the sums given by the *New England Company* and those given by the General Assembly. The two accounts are of course separate. The sources of the funds of the *New England Company* have been named already. The General Assembly was disbursing the interest on a fund established by Sir Peter Warren (about £700 originally) for the education of children from the Six Nations.[9] From the interest the General Assembly voted Wheelock (Nov., 1761) £12 a year for each of six Indian children. His receipts from this source are as follows:

1762-3	£ 75.12 L.M.	NARRATIVE II, 5
1763-4	108	IDEM, 7
1764-65	108	IDEM, 9, 11
Total	£291.12 L.M.	

In 1767 Andrew Oliver informed Wheelock that the interest on the Sir Peter Warren fund had been denied him, and that the interest would be given to the Rev. Eli Forbes of Brookfield, Mass.[10]

Finally, the *New England Company* is quite distinct from the (Anglican) S.P.G., which is mentioned under (IV).

[9] *On Oct. 9, 1751, the General Assembly had accepted this fund and agreed to the terms attendant on its acceptance* (ACTS AND RESOLVES OF THE PROVINCE OF MASS. BAY, IV, *561).*

[10] *Andrew Oliver to Eleazar Wheelock, July 6, 1767* (*In* DARTMOUTH COLLEGE ARCHIVES). *Also* ACTS AND RESOLVES, XVIII, *Appendix* XIII, *243.*

III.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was established March 8, 1698. It was and is an Anglican organization, and had no connection with Wheelock's work.[11]

IV.

As an outgrowth of this society there was chartered in 1701 by William the Third the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* Technically this society was not an official agency of the Church of England, but practically it was. Its main function was the spreading of the doctrines of the Church of England by supporting Anglican clergymen in the colonies.[12]

As early as 1704 the *Society* sent Thoroughgood Moor to Albany, but because of the unwillingness of the Mohawks to receive the gospel, he left, discouraged, in about a year, declaring that in forty years there would not in all probability be an Indian alive. In 1709, four sachems having visited England and requested missionaries, the *Society* sent William Andrews, who arrived in Albany Nov. 22, 1713, and remained for six years. In 1713, also, Queen Anne donated chapels to the Onondagas and Mohawks. The work of the *Society* among the Six Nations was carried on intermittently during the middle years of the century, and after Wheelock withdrew from them (in 1769), the *Society* established posts among the Indians, with the encouragement of Sir William Johnson.[13]

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[11] *For details of this society see Allen, W. O. B., and McClure, Edmund,* TWO HUNDRED YEARS: THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE *(1698-1898), London, 1898.*

[12] *See "The Anglican Outlook on the American Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century," by E. B. Greene, in the* AMERICAN HIST. REVIEW, XX, *64-85. Source material for the history of the society may be found in the transcriptions of letters, to and from the society, Series A, B (in the Library of Congress). The reader is referred also to the* CLASSIFIED DIGEST OF THE RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS *(1701-1892), London, 1893; and, for an early eighteenth century history,* AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, CONTAINING THEIR FOUNDATION, PROCEEDINGS, AND THE SUCCESS OF THEIR MISSIONARIES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES, TO THE YEAR 1728, *by David Humphreys, London, 1730.*

The *Society* could not, of course, by its very charter, give aid to Wheelock, a Dissenter. It was Wheelock's strongest rival among the Six Nations, and as stated, ultimately successful in supplanting him.

V.

The *Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge* was chartered by Queen Anne in 1709. It had no connection with the other societies discussed in this paper. The *Society* still exists, with a central office at 11 Alva Street, Edinburgh.

In the eighteenth century its work in this country was carried on largely through Boards of Correspondents established in Boston and New York, and in Connecticut and New Jersey. In 1730 the *Society* granted a commission to Governor Belcher "and to other gentlemen of character and influence" in New England to represent it, thus presumably initiating the Boston Board. The New York Board was commissioned seemingly in 1741, and was succeeded by the New Jersey Board, composed of members, administrative and otherwise, of the College of New Jersey (Princeton).[14]

Among the missionaries appointed by these Boards were Joseph Secomb, "at Fort George on George River, among the Penobscots," Ebenezer Hinsdale, "at Fort Dummer on Connecticut River," and Stephen Parker, "at Fort Richmond." To each of these missionaries the General Assembly, on application of Governor Belcher, granted £100 a year. That was in 1732. In 1737 the missionaries were dismissed "on account of their want of success, and of their declining to live among the Indians." Others appointed by these Boards were Azariah Horton (Long Island), withdrawn in 1753; David Brainerd, first stationed at Albany, and later among the Delawares of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; his brother, John, who succeeded him, and from whom Wheelock received Delawares; and (in 1762) to Onohoquaga (New York), Eli Forbes, Asaph Rice, and Elisha Gunn, an interpreter.[15] At Onohoquaga Forbes gathered a church and set up schools. He remained only two or three months. Forbes' mission is of interest in connection with Wheelock in that he brought back, among others, James Dean, who entered Moor's Charity School (conducted at Lebanon, Conn., by Wheelock), and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1773.

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[13] *As typical of Johnson's letters to the S. P. G. see* SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON PAPERS, IV, *March 30, 1763;* V, *Feb. 1, 1766; Oct. 8, 1766, Dec. 2, 1766. Wheelock had hoped for, and at first had received the countenance of Sir William, but because he was a Connecticut Dissenting minister and because, also, his messengers to the Fort Stanwix Congress acted indiscreetly, he lost all favor. See Introduction, 22-23.*

[14] AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN 1709 *(Edinburgh, 1774), 14 ff. See also John Maclean,* HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, I, *121.*

Wheelock had relations with the *Society in Scotland* (1) by direct communication to Edinburgh (2) through its colonial Boards in Boston, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

In 1767, Nathaniel Whitaker and Samson Occom, under the auspices of the *Society* and acting for Wheelock, raised in Scotland the sum of £2529.17.11. Wheelock assumed that the fund was at his disposal. The *Society* knew that the fund was in its control. The result was a series of disappointments and vexations to Wheelock over a period of twelve years (i.e., until his death in 1779). He himself received but little of this large sum. In 1772, James Forrest, clerk of the *Society,* informed Wheelock that his draft of £150, to defray the expenses of David Macclure and Levi Frisbie on their trip to the Muskingum River (west of Fort Pitt), had been honored, and that in November, 1768, a salary had been allowed Samuel Kirkland and debited to the fund. In 1773, the society honored another draft, for £40, to defray the expenses of Sylvanus Ripley and James Dean to Canada. Just how much of these sums came into the hands of the intended recipients is not clear. James Caldwell (of the New Jersey Board) informed Wheelock in 1774 that Macclure and Frisbie might each draw on him for £65, and that there should be deducted £20 received from Doctor Witherspoon, and £12.5.7 received from him. (His statement is not clear.) In 1775 Frisbie wrote Wheelock that he had received from the New Jersey Board £40 L.M. for himself and Macclure, and that Whitaker had advanced him, (out of moneys which he was collecting to restore his burned church at Salem, I believe) the sum of £74.1.6 Proclamation Money. (Whitaker was repaid this loan in the same year, 1775, presumably by the New Jersey Board.) I do not know whether Wheelock ever received the value of the £40 draft. In 1775 a Scotch firm (Allan Blackie and Company) informed Hugh Henderson, merchant at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, of the receipt of this draft, and that they were unable to ship goods as the equivalent because of the war risk. Whether or not these goods were ever shipped I do not know.

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[15] AN ACCOUNT, *etc., 14 ff. The missionaries to whom the Assembly voted salaries were to act as champlains, also* (ACTS AND RESOLVES OF THE PROVINCE OF MASS. BAY, XI, *Appendix* VI, *669*).

The *Society,* as I have stated, honored drafts totally £190 during Wheelock's life. The later history of the fund I give in the words of Professor L. B. Richardson:[16]

"Despite the fact that no special funds were available for the "purpose, Indians were maintained in this school until 1785. By "that time, however, an indebtedness for their support (paid by the "college) amounted to more than 1500 pounds. Under these circum-"stances it was determined that no more of the aborigines should "be received. President John Wheelock devoted himself to the task "of drawing from the Scotch society money to pay this deficit. A "correspondence ensued, marked by a cold and arrogant stiffness "on the part of the Scotch, and by a seeming patience (which veiled "high exasperation) on the part of the president. After many years "of delay Wheelock succeeded in securing about 1200 pounds. This "sum was paid from the accumulated interest of the fund, and the "principal was left intact.

"This matter being settled, in 1800 John Wheelock deter-"mined to receive once again Indian pupils upon the foundation.

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[16] DARTMOUTH ALUMNI MAGAZINE, *June, 1930, 524-5.*

"He accepted two boys, and began to draw upon the Scotch society "for their support. The authorities of that organization received "his proposal with marked coldness. They were distrustful of the "president's integrity, and were reluctant to part with the money. "But their strict honesty prevented a complete refusal of aid. After "all, the money was given for the support of Indians in Moor's "School, and could be applied to no other purpose as long as that "institution should exist. It was finally agreed that John Wheelock "should be permitted to draw 90 pounds per annum, although the "application of the money was hedged with the most exacting con-"ditions of examination and approval by the Boston correspondents "of the society. This arrangement was continued until 1817. In that "year the contention which terminated in the Dartmouth College "Case resulted in an appeal for assignment of money from each of "the two warring factions. This action put the Scotch society into "such perplexity that they stopped payment entirely until the dis-"pute should be settled. It was easier to stop than to resume, and "arrangements could not be made for further use of the fund until "1826, long after the college difficulties were over. In 1827 the an-"nual grant was fixed at 130 pounds, increased in 1840 to 140 "pounds. From this time until 1893, Indians were continually main-"tained on the fund. (Professor Richardson records about 58 In-"dians who attended Moor's Charity School or Dartmouth Col-"lege.)

"Moor's School was suspended in 1829, in order that its in-"come might accumulate to pay debts owed to the estate of John "Wheelock, and long overdue. Indians continued to be paid for, in "other ways, during the interregnum. It was reopened in a new "building (the nucleus of Chandler Hall) in 1837. About 1850 the "school was finally closed. From that time some of the Indian stu-"dents were accommodated in the Chandler Scientific Department, "some were sent to Kimball Union and other academies, while a "few, in later years, were placed in the Agricultural College, then "located in Hanover. The fund in 1863 amounted to 4124 pounds.

"During this period (1827-1893) the number in attendance at any "one time varied from one to five.

"In 1893 President Bartlett conceived the idea of opening "Moor's School once again. He asked the Scotch society to allow the "fund to be used for the payment of teachers in that institution, "into which Indians as well as others were to be received, rather "than to be applied, as in the past, to the support of individual "Indians. The society replied in very cold terms, refusing to con-"sent to such a plan, and also withdrawing all further grants until "the entire basis of award could be examined and re-considered. "This is the last document relating to the fund to be found among "the college papers. Whether the college administrators refused to "trouble themselves more with the matter, or whether the Scotch "society determined to devote the money to a different purpose, is "uncertain. The writer hopes eventually to find what the settlement "was, and what use is now made of the money, but apparently the "question can be answered only by appeal to Scotland."

Through the courtesy of Professor Richardson I am enabled to quote the essential part of a letter written to him (Oct. 7, 1930) by the Secretary of the *Society in Scotland,* in which the Secretary informs of the final disposition of the fund. "I have received your "letter of 26th ult. inquiring for information as to the eventual "destination of the Fund originally held in trust by this Society for "Moor's Charity School.

"I think I can best supply this information by sending you, "which I now do, a print of the Petition by the Society to the Court "of Session, being the Supreme Law Court in Scotland, presented "in May 1922, for a Scheme for the application of the Fund, which "the Society considered had failed of its original purpose. After "various procedure the Court pronounced judgment, finding that " 'the purposes for which Moores Indian Mission Fund referred in "the Petition were subscribed have failed therefore authorize and "empower the petitioners to apply the income of the capital sums "forming the said fund for Indians in North America and the "accumulated interest thereon for the training and educating of "Native Christians in any selected Mission Field in the British "Dominions beyond the seas for the work of missionaries among "their own non-christian people and for aiding in the training of "British youths as missionaries, interpreters and schoolmasters "among the non-christian peoples of the British Dominions beyond "the seas and by way of subscription to and participation in and "initiation of missionary enterprise among the non-christian "peoples in any part of the British Dominions beyond the seas.' "

In 1922, when the Court of Session ordered the fund transferred to the general fund of the *Society,* the original sum of £2529. 17.11, in spite of sundry payments out of it during a century and a half, had increased to £10295.

Having carried the history of this fund up to the present, I now return to the eighteenth century in order to remark briefly on Wheelock's relations with the Boston and Connecticut Boards.

On May 7, 1761, the Boston Board, representing the *Society in Scotland,* voted the sum of £20 to "fit out" David Fowler for a mission to the Oneidas, in company with Samson Occom. Two months later three Mohawk boys, sent by Fowler at the direction of the Board, arrived at Lebanon, on horseback, "and I might have added also," Wheelock wrote, "that they were very lousey." Two of the three boys were sent back—one was ill, the other accompanied him, and the third, Joseph Brant, was retained. A second pair of Mohawks, recruited by Brant and Samuel Kirkland, arrived in November, and they with Joseph Brant, made up the trio whose acceptance the Board had authorized. And now a misunderstanding arose. As Wheelock tells the story in his first Narrative (42) the Reverend Charles Chauncy, the chairman, asked him to let the Board take under its care "these two who came last with Joseph." Wheelock has naturally glossed over the squabble between him and the Board. The Narratives were designed to raise money for the school, and there was therefore no point in letting the public know that all was not harmonious. The correspondence between

Wheelock and the Board tells another story. The Reverend Samuel Mather, clerk, informed Wheelock (Dec. 30, 1761) that the members of the Board did not feel obligated to pay a bill of some £22 L.M. which Wheelock had sent, because that bill did not pertain to the three boys authorized by them. Wheelock answered (Jan. 13, 1762) that he was charging for the three sanctioned by the Board, that he was giving his own services free, and hoped that the Board would appoint a committee to audit his accounts. The state of his mind may be judged from a notation by him on the draft of this letter: "They think I am Rogue enough to Charge them for what they never sat me about." The Reverend Charles Chauncy replied for the Board, expressed satisfaction with Wheelock's statement, promised payment, and gave some gratuitous advice regarding the education of the Indians. It is to this letter that Wheelock refers in the statement quoted above from the first Narrative. Nine months later, the Board having failed to transmit the money, Wheelock wrote again, explaining his need, making clear just why he charged four shillings and six pence for making a shirt for Joseph Brant, and, in a crossed out passage, offering to rebate six pence or a shilling out of his own pocket. (I have used a draft of the letter which he sent.) Finally (Sept. 6, 1762) the Board gave him credit for the sum demanded—£58.10.1. L.M. And this is all that Wheelock ever received from the Boston Board of this society (although the Board probably paid the £20 voted for Fowler and Occom).

Chauncy was undoubtedly the cause of the trouble between Wheelock and the Boston Board. The antagonism was of long standing, dating back to 1743, when Chauncy condemned Wheelock's "enthusiasm" in *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England.* As an additional instance of Chauncy's hostility his appearing before a committee of the General Assembly of Massachusetts to argue against allowing Wheelock the benefit of the Sir Peter Warren Fund should be mentioned. As a compromise Chauncy offered to handle the income of the fund (presumably through the *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America* (VI) for Wheelock! The offer was not accepted.

Because of this want of cooperation from the Boston Board Wheelock decided to have a Connecticut Board of Correspondents, composed of men like-minded with him. Such a Board was formed July 4, 1764, and for a few years acted with Wheelock in directing the affairs of Moor's Charity School. In 1765, for instance, the Board approved Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain (whites) as missionaries, David Fowler, Joseph Woolley, and Hezekiah Calvin (Indians) as schoolmasters, and six Indian boys as ushers. In addition, it appointed missionaries to various stations, and disciplined Samuel Ashpo (Indian) for drunkenness. Wheelock was soon irked, however, by the restrictions of the Board. He always preferred to conduct the school by himself. In 1771 the Board was disbanded, because of Wheelock's removal to Hanover. Once settled there, he asked the *Society in Scotland* to establish a board in New Hampshire, urging the difficulty of communication with the Boston or New Jersey Boards. The *Society* refused to grant his request.

There is no doubt that the Boston Board was the victor in all its dealings with Wheelock. Later he was to be vexed by the defection to the Board of Samuel Kirkland and of William Crosby. To John Phillips Wheelock wrote:[17] "I should be glad I could in any way re-"move that unrighteous embarrasment which (I suppose) Slanders "from Boston have put in the way to my trying the Fund of Scot-"land—I am sure were I in the place of the Honourable Board in "Boston, I should be ashamed to Support my Missionaries by their "Fund as they do by mine." And on Feb. 1, 1775:[18] "What do you "think Sir, of Recommending Mr. Dean to the London Board in "Boston, to be imployed by them without the Assistance of my "Money in Scotland. The Bill I Sent by Col° Boyd for £200 Ster-

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[17] COLLECTIONS OF THE N. H. HIST. SOC. IX. *79, Nov. 10, 1774.*

[18] IDEM, *88.*

"ling on the Society in Scotland is protested only because it was "not recommended by the Bostonians—Is it left for me to court & "cringe to them, or is it not rather Duty to wait upon God to help "me along without them?—if all reports are true they are not likely "to come off with more honor in wresting my Son Kirtland out of "my Hands than they did in taking Crosby from under my discipline."

With this quotation I conclude my account of the *Society in Scotland.*

VI.

The *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America* was organized in opposition to the (Anglican) S.P.G. (IV, in this paper), as the result of a belief that the latter society was diverting its funds to the support of Anglican clergymen rather than for the Christianizing of the Indians. On Jan. 20, 1762, Andrew Oliver petitioned the General Assembly of Massachusetts for an incorporation. He was supported in his petition by one hundred and four clergymen and laymen.[18] The Archbishop of Canterbury, "jealous lest this should interfere with the "society established in Great Britain, or perhaps unwilling that "persons not well affected to episcopacy should obtain new influ-"ence and power, obtained from the King a negative on the incor-"porating bill."[19] The Lords of Trade, in recommending to the Crown that the petition be denied, argued that the *Society* would extend its activities beyond the limits of the province, it might interfere with any plan which the Crown might wish to pursue later, its powers were too extensive, and its books were not subject to audit or examination.[20]

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[18] *Their names are given,* ACTS AND RESOLVES, IV, *520. See also* MASS. HIST. SOC. COLL., LXXIV, *"Jasper Mauduit," xxiii, ff., 104 ff. for antagonism to the Anglican society.*

[19] *An excerpt from a letter written by Jasper Mauduit to Bowdoin, quoted (17) in* THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE INDIANS AND OTHERS IN NORTH AMERICA *(1787-1887), by James F. Hunnewell (University Press, 1887).*

[20] ACTS AND RESOLVES, IV, *520, 523, 562, 563.*

VII.

After the Revolution the *Society in Scotland* commissioned certain men in Massachusetts to act for it. They, ashamed that a foreign society should be carrying on this work, decided to form a society apart from the *Society in Scotland,* and in 1787 revived the 1762 organization under the title of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America.* The society supported, among others, Zechariah Mayhew (Martha's Vineyard), Gideon Hawley (Mashpee, Mass.), and John Sergeant (New Stockbridge, N. Y.). In the nineteenth century aid was given to the Narragansetts, Senecas, Wyandots, Munsees, Cherokees, Penobscots, Oneidas, Onondagas, and to whites in New England and in western states.[21]

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[21] *Hunnewell, James F.* The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America.

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